THE MEANING OF MYRIAD GOOD DEEDS:

A STUDY OF YUNG-MING YEN-SHOU

AND THE WAN-SHAN T'UNG-KUEI CHI

("TREATISE ON THE COMMON END OF MYRIAD GOOD DEEDS")

By

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ABSTRACT

Yung-ming Yen-shou (904-975) was a Buddhist monk who lived in a period of broad changes in Chinese society and Buddhism. He played a leading role in the restoration of Buddhism in the Wu Yüeh kingdom, and left a large body of writings. One of his best known works, the Wan-shan t'ung-kuei chi, has long been cherished by the tradition for its advocacy of harmony between Ch'an meditation and Pure Land practice. The dissertation questions the association of Yen-shou and his Treatise on the Common End of Myriad Good Deeds with the motives of the Pure land school from two points of view. In the history of the numerous biographies of Yen-shou, the association of his image with the Pure Land movement is relatively late. An investigation of the Wan-shan t'ung-kuei chi demonstrates that the synthesis of Ch'an meditation and Pure Land practice is a topic of discussion, but is by no means the central concern of the text from either a theoretical or pracical standpoint. The dissertation contends that Yen-shou's Ch'an-Pure Land synthesis should be understood within the context of the Wan-shan t'ung-kuei chi as a whole. A translation of select passages of the Wan-shan t'ung-kuei chi are included by way of confirming the reassessment put forward in the dissertation.

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ABBREVIATIONS

CCTC	*Che-chiang t'ung-chih*
CLSPC	*Ch'an-lin seng-pao chuan*
CSTP	*Chin-shih ts'ui-pien*
CTCTL	*Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu*
CWTS	*Chiu wu-tai shih*
FTTC	*Fo-tsu t'ung-chi*
HJAS	*Harvard Journal of Asian Studies*
HKSC	*Hsü kao-seng chuan*
HTC	*Hsü-tsang ching*
HWTS	*Hsin wu-tai shih*
JTPC	*Jen-t'ien pao-chien*
KK	*Kokuyaku issaikyo*
KSC	*Kao-seng chuan*
LPWL	*Lo-pang wen-lei*
LSCTW	*Lung-shu ching-t'u wen*
SKCC	*Shih-kuo ch'un-ch'iu*
SMCT	*Shih-men cheng -t'ung*
T	*Taisho shinshu daizokyo* (References are generally given as volume number and text number, followed by page number)
TCL	*Tsung-ching lu*
WSTKC	*Wan-shan t'ung-kuei chi*
WTHY	*Wu-tai hui-yao*
WYPS	*Wu-yüeh pei-shih*

INTRODUCTION

Yung-ming Yen-shou was a Chinese Buddhist monk known well for his teaching harmonizing Ch'an and Pure Land. Of his works, the Wan-shan t'ung-kuei chi ("Treatise on the Common End of Myriad Good Deeds) has been most highly valued in the Buddhist tradition for its promotion of harmony between Ch'an and Pure Land teachings. Many accounts of Yen-shou's biography also demonstrate that the major concern of Yen-shou's life was the harmony of Ch'an and Pure Land. An investigation of the Wan-shan t'ung-kuei chi (WSTKC) and the biographical accounts of Yen-shou's life reveal, however, that Yen-shou's life and the WSTKC cannot be reduced simply to the cause of Ch'an-Pure Land synthesis. Such an assessment of Yen-shou's career and work is misleading, and cannot be sustained by critical evaluation of the documents in question.

The real proof of Yen-shou's reputation as a Ch'an-Pure Land synthesizer must ultimately rest in his own work. The principal work upon which this reputation is based is the WSTKC. Only a very narrow and biased reading of the text can support the view that it is principally concerned with the harmony between Ch'an and Pure Land teachings. Rather, the purpose of the text is to promote the practice

of myriad good deeds (wan-shan). Ch'an meditation and nien-fo practice are included among these, but are in no way central to the meaning of the text when taken in its entirety. The central aim of the text is to provide a theoretical structure in which the legitimacy of diverse, apparently contradictory, Buddhist practices may be presented. The main inspiration for such a theoretical structure in the WSTKC is found in the Hua-yen doctrines of li and shih. The principal justification for the promotion of the myriad good deeds themselves derives from the tradition of the Fa-hua ching and the T'ien-tai school. As a consequence, references to the sutras and doctrines of these two schools abound in the WSTKC. These are the main influences on Yen-shou's thought exhibited in the WSTKC, not the teachings associated with the Ch'an or Pure Land tradition. Thus, the "new synthesis" promoted by Yen-shou in the WSTKC does not primarily pertain to the narrower concern of harmonizing ch'an meditation with Pure land practice. This is the concern of an age later than the one in which Yen-shou lived. Yen-shou's concern is to find a new basis for justifying a wider variety of Buddhist practices.

The Pure Land movement is an old one in the Chinese Buddhist tradition. The Pure Land school, with an established lineage of patriarchs, is not. The rise of the Pure Land school, not unjustifiably, is closely connected to

the changing importance of practice in Chinese Buddhism. As the main spokesman for the "new synthesis" in which the central position of practice is promoted, Yen-shou was awarded an honoured position in the Pure Land school. In actuality, the rise of the Pure Land as an established school is somewhat later than the period in which Yen-shou lived. The earliest records of Yen-shou's biography make no mention of his association with the Pure land. Later records that assert Yen-shou's connection with the Pure land rely on apocryphal stories to do so.

Finally, one should not overlook the fact that Yen-shou's importance to the Chinese Buddhist tradition is closely connected to the times in which he lived. Chinese Buddhism was severely affected by the Hui-ch'ang suppression (c. 845): the major Buddhist schools of the T'ang dynasty were deprived of their status and influence, and the nature of Chinese Buddhism began to change. Our information of this period and its significance to the history of Chinese Buddhism is as yet inadequate. It is clear, however, that the social and political climate in China was very unstable. The direction of Buddhism was uncertain. There was a marked change in interest from doctrinal concerns to those of Buddhist practice. With the removal of the influential, doctrinally-based Buddhist schools from the centre of activity, the old synthesis between Buddhist doctrine and Buddhist practice (conceived principally in terms of <u>ch'an</u>

meditation) was no longer viable. New concerns that arose among Buddhist adherents focused on the nature of practice itself. It is in this climate of changing concerns that Yen-shou lived and wrote his treatise on the "Common End of Myriad Good Deeds". In this work, Yen-shou explained the meaning of a wide variety of practices from a theoretical point of view, and thus provided a justification for new developments in Buddhist practice.

In the following three chapters, I shall review in detail the facts and documents central to my argument. Chapter One is devoted to the context for understanding Yen-shou and his work. This is divided into two sections. The first section discusses the changing nature of Buddhism, using as an index for these changes the way in which eminent monks' lives are arranged in the three kao-seng chuan collections. It also reviews the components of the earlier Buddhist synthesis proposed by Tsung-mi. Both of these discussions are crucial for understanding the nature and contribution of Yen-shou's own synthesis. The second section of Chapter One reviews the historical climate in which Yen-shou actually lived, both generally, in terms of the Five Dynasties period as a whole, and in terms of the Wu Yüeh kingdom and the unique style of Buddhism that developed there. These too are important factors for understanding the direction that Yen-shou's life and work took.

Chapter Two is devoted to the study of Yen-shou's life. The concern here is not to determine the historical facts of Yen-shou's life. Rather, the aim is to show how widely the details of Yen-shou's biography fluctuate in different sources. This is accomplished by reviewing the development of Yen-shou's biography in three stages: the earliest accounts; later Ch'an biographical developments; and Yen-shou's image in Pure Land accounts. The way in which Yen-shou's image fluctuates in these sources demonstrates how the image has been shaped according to the aspirations of the Buddhist community contemporary with the respective sources in which it is recorded. In particular, it demonstrates that the elevation of Yen-shou to the status of a patriarch in the Pure Land school is dependent on such manipulation.

Chapter Three carries the central question raised in Chapter Two a step further. If the image of Yen-shou as a Ch'an-Pure Land synthesizer is merely a reflection of the aspirations of the later Buddhist community, rather than a product of facts in Yen-shou's life itself, on what ground does Yen-shou's reputation as Ch'an-Pure Land synthesizer rest? Does a study of his WSTKC, upon which his reputation in this regard largely rests, suport this reputation? If not, what is the view that is advocated in this work? In Chapter Three, my study will answer this concern from three perspectives. First of all, I will enumerate the different

sources cited and referred to in the WSTKC, and discuss their significance. Secondly, I will discuss the nature of the WSTKC text according to the relationship between the myriad good deeds (wan-shan) actually promoted by Yen-shou, and their common end (t'ung-kuei). Thirdly, I will review the topics discussed extensively in the WSTKC.

The first appendix following Chapter Three contains a translation of selected passages drawn from the WSTKC, to serve as examples of the nature and orientation of the text. Here, I would like to make a few general comments regarding the problems associated with the translation of Yen-shou's work. First of all, it must be said that our knowledge of the situation of Buddhism in this period, including the work of Yen-shou, is in a state of infancy. Secondly, the nature of Yen-shou's work is such that it presents a number of problems for which solutions are not easily found. Yen-shou's writings are those of a Buddhist scholastic. To read Yen-shou's work accurately requires an acumen equal to that of the author himself. In addition, the WSTKC is composed primarily of references to a bewildering variety of sources, all of which need to be traced to be rendered accurately. I have traced many of these (see Appendix II), but a number of the references are too vague or general to be of much help in pointing out where they come from. The following are the most frequent examples in the WSTKC. Numerous references begin with

nothing more than "a <u>sutra</u> (<u>ching</u>) says"; "a treatise (<u>lun</u>) says"; "an old master (<u>ku-te</u>) says"; "a former master (<u>hsien-te</u>) says"; or "T'ien-t'ai teaching (<u>chiao</u>) says". These references are virtually untraceable. Even when quoted material is identified by the name of the master it is attributed to (e.g. Chih-i), in many cases the master's writings are so extensive that it is extremely difficult to find the precise location of a few lines. The same is true in the case of some <u>sutras</u> (e.g. <u>P'an-jo ching</u>). Without knowing the context, many such quoted passages cannot be translated accurately. The problem is further compounded by the fact that it is often difficult to determine where untraced references end, and where Yen-shou's own comments resume. This presents severe obstacles to an accurate rendering of the text.

Because of the present status of our knowledge, only a superficial reading of many portions of the WSTKC is possible. The translated passages provided in Appendix One, as a consequence, should be read as provisional until such time as our knowledge of Yen-shou's works is adequate to allow for a definitive translation.

As a prelude to our study of Yen-shou's life, and his thought as presented in the WSTKC, we now turn to a discussion of the circumstances surrounding this life and thought.

CHAPTER I: BACKGROUND

A. The Changing Nature of Buddhism

1. Shifting Patterns in the Categories of Eminent Monks

By the time of the Five Dynasties period, Buddhists had maintained established congregations in China for several centuries. In accordance with changing situations and the evolving needs of the Buddhist community, the activities that Buddhist monks engaged in naturally changed. Evidence of these changes emerge clearly through a review of the categories of eminent monks whose biographies have been recorded in the Kao-seng chuan [KSC] (c. 520), the Hsü-kao-seng chuan [HKSC] (667), and the Sung kao-seng chuan [SKSC] (988).[1] In these three works, the path to eminence is recorded of monks in their respective periods, in each of ten categories. Because there are only minor variations in the categories employed in the three works, and because the design of the categories themselves and the intent of the compilers of the individual collections are free of obvious sectarian bias, the categories of these works provide a useful means to chart the shifting patterns in the activities of Chinese Buddhist monks.

The three kao-seng chuan collections do not represent a completely objective appraisal of the situation of

Buddhism. Certain criteria govern their compilation. In each case, they were commissioned by imperial authority; the reading public that they were intended for consisted primarily of the so-called "favoured classes of Chinese society."[2] Thus, rather than an objective appraisal of the state of activity within the Buddhist community as such, these collections of eminent monks' biographies are indicative of the degree to which certain activities in the Buddhist community had become acceptable to the Chinese elite. Still, the data presented in them is extremely valuable. It indicates which activities have penetrated the governing elite of Chinese culture.[3]

In the early stages of the Chinese reception of Buddhism, scholastically oriented activities were highly valued. The translation and interpretation of recently acquired Buddhist texts from India and Central Asia far outweighed other activities in the Buddhist community in interest and importance. The esteem in which these activities were held is very apparent in the KSC (see Table I in the Appendix following the end of this section). Hui-chiao, the compiler, placed Translators and Exegetes at the head of his ten categories. This, in itself, shows that the favour with which he regarded these activities exceeded that relating to others. More importantly, however, is the overwhelming numbers of monks mentioned in these two categories as compared to the other eight. Roughly two-thirds (66.5%)

of the total number of monks mentioned in the KSC are recorded under the categories of Translators and Exegetes (Translators 12.6%; Exegetes 53.9%). The remaining monks' biographies are spread fairly evenly over the other eight categories so that the figures relating to any one of these categories is in no way outstanding.

In many respects, the figures reflect the aim and bias of Hui-chiao. As an exegete himself, Hui-chiao valued the literary activities that members of the Buddhist community were engaged in. The results of such work fit nicely with his expressed aim, "of gaining for the clergy status and recognition in the favoured class of Chinese society."[4] In addition, Hui-chiao's bias is at least partially admitted in his Preface to the KSC:

> ...it would seem that the flow of Buddhism into China was due to the meritorious work of the translators. Some went through the perils of desert wastes; others were tossed about on tempestuous seas. All were forgetful of self in their devotion to religion, heedless of their lives in the propagation of Dharma. The enlightenment of China was wholly dependent on them. Such merit being worthy of deep respect, I have placed them at the beginning of the book.[5]

These factors undoubtedly played a large part in determining the way in which Hui-chiao ordered his categories and collected the biographies of monks pertaining to each. Still, the numbers are so overwhelming that there can be little doubt of the central importance that Translators and Exegetes held in the early Buddhist community.

In the HKSC (667), the picture becomes more complex (see Table II). While the overall style of the HKSC is similar to that of the KSC, and the number of categories in which eminent monks' biographies are recorded is the same (ten), the compiler Tao-hsüan altered slightly both the categories listed and the order in which they are presented. Most significant in the changed order of presentation is the elevation of the category of Meditators to the third position, immediately following Translators and Exegetes. This indication that activities other than those of Translators and Exegetes are beginning to gain in favour is further confirmed by comparing the total numbers of monks mentioned in the different categories. While 246 (34.9%) are recorded as Exegetes, only the names of 49 (7.0%) Translators are mentioned. This means that the activities of Exegetes are still most highly esteemed as the pathway to eminence, but that translation has given way to other, less scholarly oriented activities. Of the biographies recorded, 134 (19.0%) are entered under the category of Meditators, or <u>ch'an</u> practitioners, and 135 (19.1%) are listed as Miracle Workers according to their ability to inspire miraculous events.[6] Viewed from this perspective, the message that the HKSC contains is clear. No longer do scholarly oriented activities completely dominate the scene as the accepted activities of members of the Buddhist community. In addition to these, other activities pertaining to the

religious practice and spiritual proclivities of the community are gaining wider currency.

This trend is further confirmed through examining the data derived from the SKSC (988) (see Table III). In compiling the SKSC, Tsan-ning observed the conventions established by Tao-hsüan as regards the names and order of the ten categories. Within this conventional format, however, Tsan-ning records the biographies of monks in a way that suggests that the scholarly orientation of early Chinese Buddhism has been overshadowed by other activities in the Buddhist community. Meditators (20.1%) and Miracle Workers (17.1%) have become the principal paths to eminence. Exegetes are still third (at 14.3%), but the overall shift has been away from such activities. The beneficiaries of this shift seem to be dispersed over a variety of categories.

In addition, what can this data tell us about the nature of Buddhism during Yen-shou's own lifetime? Tsan-ning was a contemporary of Yen-shou, and by isolating those monks mentioned in the SKSC that lived during the Five Dynasties and early Sung period, an interesting picture of the contemporary situation of Buddhism emerges (see Table IV). The data charted from this period indicates that the paths to eminence, the activities that monks could gainfully engage in to win that status, had become even more diverse. While there are no Translators who gained eminence during

this period, Exegetes have again become the most highly represented (18.7%). In spite of this, the overwhelming emphasis is on a wide variety of "practice-oriented" categories rather than the "scholarly-oriented" activities of philosophers and exegetes. Five categories other than that of Exegetes each command roughly 10% of more of the total number of monks listed (Meditators 16%, Miracle-Workers 15%; Promoters of Works of Merit 14%; Self Immolators 11%;[7] and Various Categories of Invokers of Virtue 10%).

Judging from this data, Buddhism during the Five Dynasties period can be characterized by the variety of activities that monks were engaging in. While high value was still being accorded to the work of the exegete, a wider variety of practice-oriented religious activities had gained in prestige. Some of these activities (those of Self Immolators and Promoters of Works of Merit) were unprecedented in the acceptance that they were given. Through the increasing tendency toward variety, more and different categories emerge as likely activities through which a monk might achieve eminence, with no one category or combination of categories clearly dominating.

APPENDIX TO A.1
SHIFTING PATTERNS IN THE CATEGORIES OF EMINENT MONKS

TABLE I: KAO-SENG-CHUAN (c. 520)*

	Category	Major Biographies	Subordinate Biographies	Total	% of Total
1.	Translators (i-ching)	35	28	63	12.6
2.	Exegetes (i-chieh)	101	168	269	53.9
3.	Theurgists/ Miracle Workers (shen-i)	20	10	30	6.0
4.	Meditators (hsi-ch'an)	21	11	32	6.4
5.	Disciplinarians (ming-lü)	13	8	21	4.2
6.	Self Immolators (wang-shen)	11	3	14	2.8
7.	Cantors (sung-ching)	21	12	33	6.6
8.	Promotors of Works of Merit (hsing-fu)	14	2	16	3.2
9.	Hymnodists (ching-shih)	11	0	11	2.2
10.	Sermonists (ch'ang-tao)	10	0	10	2.0
		257	242	499	

*While agreeing with the number of major biographies as 257, Wright, *op. cit.*, p. 387, mentions the number of subordinate biographies as 259. Since he does not give a breakdown, it is difficult to tell where the differences lie. It does not appear to be in the first two where he gives as 196 the number of subordinate biographies, which corresponds with my total for these two categories. My figures are based on th information provided by the KSC table of contents (T. 50-2059, pp. 419-22).

TABLE II: HSU KAO-SENG CHUAN (667)*

Category	Major Biographies	Subordinate Biographies	Total	% of Total
1. Translators (i-ching)	15	34	49	7.0
2. Exegetes (i-chieh)	161	85	246	34.9
3. Meditators (hsi-ch'an)	95	39	134	19.0
4. Disciplinarians (ming-lü)	28	13	41	5.8
5. Dharma Protectors (hu-fa)	18	7	25	3.5
6. Miracle Workers (kan-t'ung)	118	17	135	19.1
7. Self Immolators (i-shen)	12	4	16	2.3
8. Cantors (tu-sung)	14	8	22	3.1
9. Promotors of Works of Merit (hsing-fu)	12	5	17	2.4
10. Various Categories of Invokers of Virtue (sheng-te)	12	8	20	2.8
	485	220	705	

*Kenneth Ch'en, Buddhism in China; A Historical Survey, p. 248, n. 3, mentions the number of biographies in the HKSC as 485 major and 219 subordinate, for a total of 704.

TABLE III: SUNG KAO-SENG CHUAN (988)

Category	Major Biographies	Subordinate Biographies	Total	% of Total
1. Translators (i-ching)	32	12	44	6.7
2. Exegetes (i-chieh)	72	22	94	14.3
3. Meditators (hsi-ch'an)	103	29	132	20.1
4. Disciplinarians (ming-lü)	58	10	68	10.4
5. Dharma Protectors (hu-fa)	18	1	19	2.9
6. Miracle Workers (kan-t'ung)	89	23	112	17.1
7. Self Immolators (i-shen)	22	2	24	3.7
8. Cantors (tu-sung)	42	8	50	7.6
9. Promotors of Works of Merit (hsing-fu)	50	6	56	8.5
10. Various Categories of Invokers of Virtue (sheng-te)	45	12	57	8.7
	531	125	656	

TABLE IV: SUNG KAO-SENG CHUAN*
Biographies from the Five Dynasties and Early Sung Dynasty

Category	Major Biographies	Subordinate Biographies	Total	% of Total
1. Translators (i-ching)	0	0	0	0.0
2. Exegetes (i-chieh)	20	3	23	18.7
3. Meditators (hsi-ch'an)	15	5	20	16.3
4. Disciplinarians (ming-lü)	6	2	8	6.5
5. Dharma Protectors (hu-fa)	2	0	2	1.6
6. Miracle Workers (kan-t'ung)	13	5	18	14.6
7. Self Immolators (i-shen)	13	0	13	10.6
8. Cantors (tu-sung)	7	3	10	8.1
9. Promotors of Works of Merit (hsing-fu)	16	1	17	13.9
10. Various Categories of Invokers of Virtue (sheng-te)	10	2	12	9.8
	102	21	123	

*The material for the major biographies is taken from Makita Tairyo, Godai shūkyōshi kenkyū, pp. 161-62.

2. The Components of Tsung-mi's Synthesis: The Nature of Chinese Buddhism prior to the Hui-ch'ang Suppression

Tsung-mi (780-841) was a Buddhist thinker whose analysis of the Buddhism of his day had a monumental impact on the development of Chinese Buddhist thought. Although esteemed in the lineages of the Ch'an and the Hua-yen Schools, his attempt to harmonize Buddhist sectarian conflicts of his day was based on principles of analysis that went beyond purely sectarian demands. In his recognition of the validity and compatibility of all known schools of thought and practice of his day, Tsung-mi's thought invites comparison with that of Yen-shou, whose aim is much the same. In preparation for such a comparison, I shall here summarize the salient aspects of Tsung-mi's analysis.[8]

Tsung-mi's analysis represents an assessment of the salient features of Buddhist practice and doctrinal teaching, and of Buddhist teaching and that of Confucianism and Taoism, rendered in syncretic harmony by a leading Buddhist scholar and practitioner of the early ninth century. The assessment can be regarded as a fairly reliable reflection of the state of Buddhism at that time, and of the issues and agenda that characterized it. Worth noting here is that in Tsung-mi's assessment, the issues of Buddhist practice focus exclusively on <u>ch'an</u> contemplation,

suggesting that the Buddhist practice of his day was fairly uniform in its basic orientation. The trend toward ch'an is supported by the "Biographies of Eminent Monks" materials reviewed earlier, as well (see especially Tables II and III, following section A, above).

The components of Tsung-mi's synthesis can be characterized as follows: (1) the classification of Ch'an Buddhist schools; (2) an analysis of the three schools of Buddhist philosophy; (3) the relationship between the Ch'an schools and the schools of Buddhist philosophy; and (4) the relationship between the teachings of Buddhism and those of Confucianism and Taoism.

The necessity for Tsung-mi's synthesis can be seen as follows: by the ninth century, the Ch'an movement in China had proliferated into a number of schools and sects that were at variance with each other with regard to such matters as doctrine and practice. One of the principal achievements of Tsung-mi's work was to provide some coherence to this diversity. This was done through an insistence upon the metaphysical foundations of Ch'an practice. Thus, of the seven principal Ch'an schools of the day are divided into three groups according to their philosophical foundations.

Summarized briefly, the position of the first Ch'an school, which taught the stopping of falsity and the cultivation of mind,[9] is that while sentient beings possess

the enlightened nature of a Buddha, they are hindered by ignorance and wrongly understand the nature of worldly phenomena. Liberation is achieved by extinguishing the false thoughts that arise from such wrong understanding. The means employed are concentration and contemplation. The position of the second Ch'an school, which taught absolute annihilation,[10] is that everything, whether profane or sacred, is completely empty and devoid of any existence whatsoever. In reality, there is no enlightened nature; liberation and the means to achieve it are both delusive and false. Instead, one should be unattached in everything that one does, inactive and spontaneous. According to the third Ch'an school, which taught direction revelation of the Mind-nature,[11] all dharmas, whether existent or non-existent, constitute the absolute Dharma-nature itself. The substance of this absolute nature is completely unrestricted by the manifold ways through which it is manifest--the profane and the sacred, good and evil, cause and effect, in material forms and formless, and so on. The absolute is the spontaneous and effortless activity of the Mind itself. Liberation is characterized in terms of awakening to the wisdom of the self-knowing Mind.

The second component of Tsung-mi's synthesis is his analysis of the three schools of Buddhist philosophy. The aim here, as we shall see more clearly below, is part of his larger analysis of Ch'an Buddhism, and to provide it with

solid philosophical foundations. For Tsung-mi, the first school is principally represented by the teachings of "Consciousness Only". The second school is represented by the emptiness teaching of the Madyamikas. The third school, Tsung-mi's "Perfect School", is based on the teaching of an empty and tranquil absolute Mind.

The third component of Tsung-mi's analysis is the synthesis of the Ch'an schools and Buddhist teachings based on a comparison of the first two components above; the classification of Ch'an Buddhist Schools, and the analysis of the three schools of Buddhist philosophy. Through this comparison, the first Ch'an school is equated with the teachings of "Consciousness Only"; the position of the second Ch'an school with the teachings of Madhyamika; and the third Ch'an school with the perfect teaching of the Mahayana. In this manner, the principal schools of Ch'an practice of Tsung-mi's day are distinguished and brought into line with the philosophical positions of the leading schools of Buddhism. In this way, the once fledgling Ch'an movement is legitimately recognized in accordance with acceptable Buddhist positions. The marriage between the Buddhist establishment, the long-standing schools of Buddhism, and the popular Buddhist practice of the day, characterized in the various schools of Ch'an, is completed, and the issues between them largely resolved.

In addition to harmonizing the Buddhist practice of

his day, *ch'an* contemplation, with the teachings (*chiao*) of the main doctrinal schools, Tsung-mi also harmonized the teachings of Confucianism and Taoism with those of Buddhism. This aspect of Tsung-mi's synthesis was precipitated by a resurging Confucianism, in particular as expressed through the anti-Buddhist polemics of Han Yū (768-824), a contemporary of Tsung-mi.[12] Here, as before, the syncretic character of Tsung-mi's thought is apparent. Confucianism and Taoism are valid schools of thought. Confucius and Lao-tzu were perfect sages along with the Buddha, and Buddhist and non-Buddhist teachings are complementary. In each case, their teachings benefit people, and encourage them to perfect all good deeds. However, this is not to say that there are not substantial differences separating the doctrines of these three teachings. According to Tsung-mi, Confucianism and Taoism are provisional doctrines, while Buddhism possesses both real and provisional doctrines. Thus, in the estimation of Tsung-mi,

> ....In that they encourage the perfection of good deeds, punish wicked ones, and reward good ones, all three teachings lead to the creation of an orderly society; for this they must be observed with respect. In going to the root of things, Buddhism--since it examines all phenomena and, using every means, investigates their principles in an attempt to reveal their nature--decisively leads the other schools.[13]

Thus, the teachings of Confucianism and Taoism, along with those of Buddhism, have a utilitarian value in promoting the

welfare and well-being of society. For awakening to the true nature of things, the teachings of Buddhism alone suffice.

The most significant event standing between the Buddhism of Tsung-mi's day and that of Yen-shou's was the anti-Buddhist suppression of the Hui-ch'ang era (841-846).[14] Based on the economic and moral excesses of Buddhism, this government-sponsored suppression forever altered the nature of Buddhism in China. Economically, it destroyed the supremacy of the large Buddhist establishments and the doctrinal schools that they represented. After the Hui-ch'ang suppression, the institutional lives of the Hua-yen school, the T'ien-t'ai school, and the Wei-shih school, were at best a pale reflection of their former glory. While the doctrines and teachings of their masters continued to inform subsequent developments, they lacked the authority and respect of living, active tradition. Instead, the momentum toward emphasizing practice increased. No longer was practice so exclusively confined to issues surrounding ch'an contemplation. Thus, many of the precedents established by Tsung-mi continued to be employed in the synthesis of Yen-shou over a century later. However, certain circumstances changed dramatically. These precipitated the need for a new synthesis in the first place. The synthesis of Tsung-mi provides a useful place from which to chart the new features in Yen-shou's thought

and to assess them.

B. The Five Dynasties Period and Wu Yüeh Buddhism

1. The Five Dynasties Period

The life of Yen-shou (904-975) generally corresponds to the Five Dynasties period of Chinese history (907-960). The situation during this period naturally had a large impact on Yen-shou's life.

"Five Dynasties" indicates the period of social and political chaos between the formal end of the T'ang Dynasty (618-906) and the rise of the Sung Dynasty (960-1279). It indicates the rise and fall in quick succession of five ruling houses that governed North China during this period. The names and tenures of rule of the Five Dynasties are: Liang (907-923); Later T'ang (923-937); Chin (937-946); Han (947-950); and Chou (951-960).

Through the conventional implementation of the Chinese dynastic cycle, the Five Dynasties appear as legitimate imperial rules, but in reality they are little more than the reigns of military warlords. Already in the middle of the T'ang, imperial rule exhibited signs of decay. The rebellion of An Lu-shan (756-757) marked the beginning of decline in central authority, and signalled a change in the chieh-tu shih system.[15] Originally, the chieh-tu shih, or military governors, were commissioned by the T'ang rulers to guard and defend the frontier border regions of

the T'ang empire. However, by the second half of the T'ang, the chieh-tu shih operated with considerable autonomy in administrative as well as military matters. They acted much in the manner of regional commanders, giving only nominal support to the T'ang and the institutions of the central government. With the formal end of the T'ang in 906, the rulers of the Five Dynasties inherited much of the style and many of the features of the chieh-tu shih system.[16]

As a result of this state of affairs, one can point to two general influences on Yen-shou's life. First of all, there is the fact of the chronic militarism and social and political chaos that characterize the period. This did not represent a new state of affairs; at the time that Yen-shou lived, it would have characterized the Chinese scene for nearly two centuries. Judged against this background, the past and present, as well as the outlook of the future, provided little in the way of certainty. Secondly, as indicated in the above, the political state of affairs during the period allowed for considerable regional autonomy, including regional control over policy.

The policy toward Buddhism in the Northern dynasties tended to vary from ruler to ruler, depending on how the religion suited the needs of their political strategy.[17] Measures calling for the suppression of Buddhism were issued in each of the Five Dynasties, so that a great deal of uncertainty and ambiguity surrounded the contemporary state

of Buddhism there. Anti-Buddhist policy in the North reached its culmination with the suppression enacted by Shih Tsung in 955, commonly regarded as one of four major Buddhist suppressions in Chinese history.[18] A contemporary document records the reasons for the suppression as follows:

> Buddhism is the true religion, and the miraculous way of sages. In assisting the world and encouraging good, its benefits are extremely abundant. Since former eras it had continued to maintain a coherent system (of belief), but recently (Buddhist monks) have corrupted the social order. with alarming frequency. According to a report received from a recent investigation of the various provinces, monks are continuously violating the law. If they are not punished and prohibited from doing so, it will turn into a serious matter. Privately ordained monks and nuns daily increase to confusing proportions. The temples and monasteries that they have built to practice in have gradually become widespread. Among the villages and towns, their improprieties have become profuse. (Some) are fellows who flee the law or turn their backs on military service and illegitimately shave their heads in order to escape punishment. (Some) are rogues who engage in licentious practices or commit robberies and conceal their evils by conspiring with chief priests. When one tries to make the teaching of the law prosper, one must distinguish good from evil. Appropriately, and in accordance with former precedents, we undertake to rectify the improprieties mentioned in the above.[19]

As a result of provisions stipulated by Shih Tsung, 33,336 temples are said to have been destroyed (2,694 were allowed to remain);[20] In addition, provisions were established governing the existence of Buddhist temples and monasteries, and controlling tightly the circumstances by which one could become a monk or nun.

The Hui-ch'ang suppression (c. 845) had dealt a blow to Buddhism from which it had yet to recover. With another major suppression by Shih Tsung just over a century later, Buddhism in the North was further decimated. Thus, throughout most of China during this period, the dilemmas facing Buddhism paralleled those of the social and political realm.

2. Buddhism in the Wu Yüeh Kingdom

Yen-shou himself did not live in the North, but in one of the semi-autonomous states of the South, the state of Wu Yüeh. Wu Yüeh constituted one of the so-called "Ten Kingdoms", a term used to indicate the general autonomy of the several southern states during the period of the rapid rise and fall of "dynasties" in the North.[21] As a result of the Huang-ch'ao rebellion (875-884) and the troubles which preceded and followed the fall of the T'ang, regions situated to the south and southwest of Ho-nan formed independent or quasi-independent states. As an outgrowth of the regional autonomy provided by the <u>chieh-tu chih</u> system mentioned earlier, the southern kingdoms were more or less exempted from the chaotic situation which characterized the North. Most notable for this contrast with the state of affairs in the north is the state of Wu Yüeh (897-978).

Politically, the situation in the state of Wu Yüeh was stable. In this, it was fortunate to capitalize on the

autonomy that the age afforded. In addition, the situation of Wu Yüeh was further assisted by the fact that the state of Southern T'ang (937-975) lay between it and the chaos in the north.[22] Thus, while most of China was subjected to an everchanging political climate, rule in Wu Yüeh extended over eighty years, and ended only when it ceded its authority to the Sung.

Within the state of Wu Yüeh itself, the ruling Ch'ien family was largely responsible for the political stability and economic prosperity that prevailed.[23] The climate of stability and prosperity there produced a culture in the region that surpassed that of the rest of China. One of the principal ways in which the Ch'ien family encouraged the growth of this culture was through its support of clerics and religious institutions. The primary beneficiaries of such support proved to be the monks and institutions of Buddhism. Thus, while Buddhism and Chinese culture in general were being continually undermined by the anti-religious policies and rampant militarism of the north, Buddhism was being actively revived as the central cultural foundation of the Wu Yüeh state. The main features associated with the Buddhism that flourished there can be summarized as follows.

(1) The Influence of Religious Taoism and Folk Religion.

Buddhism was not initially the dominant force in the

Wu Yüeh region during this period. Ch'ien Liu (Prince Wu-su), the founder of the Wu Yüeh state, originally had closest religious associations with Taoists, or people fond of religious Taoist and folk religious practices.[24] Chief among these was Lo Yin, the famed Taoist poet who occupied a prominent position in the Wu Yüeh government. In addition, the biographical records of Ch'ien Liu are filled with stories in which these practitioners play a dominant role. A study of these stories, along with those contained in the biographical records of the other rulers of the Wu Yüeh state, suggests that the religious practices and political influence that Buddhist monks came to display in the region are derived from the role that practitioners of religious Taoism and folk religious arts had earlier.[25] While this data cannot be interpreted literally, it undoubtedly reflects a situation where practitioners of religious Taoist and folk religious arts wielded considerable influence over the style of Buddhism that developed there.[26]

(2) Temple Building Activities of Wu Yüeh Rulers.

Erecting stūpas, and the building and repairing of temples constituted a central policy of the rulers of the Wu Yüeh state. This policy was instituted early in the rule of Ch'ien Liu, and was vigorously continued by his successors. By the time of the reign of Prince Chung-i (reigned 948-978), this had become an important feature of domestic

policy. This policy had a direct bearing on the career of Yeh-shou. In 960, with the completion of a new monastery on Mt. Ling-yin, Prince Chung-i appointed Yen-shou to serve there as abbot, or chief priest. In the following year, he requested Yen-shou to serve in the same capacity at the recently completed Yung-ming Temple.[27] It is apparent, then, that the construction of Buddhist temples in the Wu-Yüeh state was undertaken under the supervision of Wu Yüeh rulers, and that they used the temples that they built as state institutions, appointing and transferring monks to positions as they saw fit.

In addition, teachers at certain temples gained fame outside of China. Yen-shou himself is said to have attracted the attention of the King of Korea, who subsequently sent him gifts and dispatched monks to study under him.[28] It is also apparent, then, that certain aspects of the Wu Yüeh Temple system were instrumental in the conduct of international affairs. As has been briefly indicated here and will be seen more clearly later, Yen-shou was in important respects the product of this system.

(3) The Aśokan Model and the Rulers of Wu Yüeh

Initially, Ch'ien Liu was attracted to Maitreya (Mi-le). In the first year of Ching-fu (892), he built Jui-hsiang Temple and installed a stone image of Maitreya in it.[29] In Buddhist teaching, Maitreya represents the

coming Buddha of the future and the successor of Śākyamuni Buddha on earth.[30] In China, Maitreya was often associated with millenarian cults who used Maitreya eschatology as a basis for their ideology and practice. The Maitreya cult was particularly popular during the late T'ang, Five Dynasties, and Northern Sung, and ambitious rebel leaders capitalized on it in two ways. Some claimed to be the incarnation of Maitreya himself; others claimed to be the virtuous ruler who would welcome Maitreya when he descended to earth.[31] Ch'ien Liu, as a fairly young, regional commander seems to have associated himself with the latter model in those days prior to the consolidation of his hold over the region.

However, after his reign was well established, he began to show a preference for the model of the Indian monarch Aśoka. In the second year of Chen-ming (916), Ch'ien Liu built a stupa containing relics of the Buddha in the manner of King Aśoka.[32] According to another source, Ch'ien Liu is said to have dispatched his younger brother together with a Buddhist monk to the stupa in the region housing relics of Sakyamuni on Mt. A-yü wang (King Aśoka).[33] Thus began the emulation of the Indian monarch famed for his support of Buddhism by the rulers of Wu Yüeh. Hereafter, the construction of temples and stupas are attributed to Ch'ien Liu and his successors in great numbers.[34] In particular, the grandson of Ch'ien Liu,

Ch'ien Ch'u (Prince Chung-i), is said to have erected eighty-four thousand stupas, obviously after the memory of the Buddhist King Aśoka.[35]

(4) The Revival of T'ien-t'ai.

Owing to its rich spiritual history, Mt. T'ien-t'ai served as the spiritual centre for religious aspirants in the Wu Yüeh region. Much of the enterprise of Wu Yüeh rulers for rebuilding the physical institutions of Buddhism in the region was naturally aimed at restoring Mt. T'ien-t'ai, which had fallen into decay as a result of neglect and the disturbances of war. In the third year of T'ien-yu (906), Ch'ien Liu (Prince Wu-su) built a temple there.[36] This seems to mark the first attempt in this direction. However, the greatest achievement in the restoration of T'ien-t'ai is attributable to Ch'ien Ch'u (Prince Chung-i). Besides Ch'ien Liu, Ch'ien Ch'u was the other dominant force in the rule of the Wu Yüeh state. Both ruled for thirty or more years, Ch'ien Liu as founder, and Ch'ien Ch'u as the culmination of Wu Yüeh rule. During the second year of his reign (in 949), the twenty year old Ch'ien Ch'u initiated a vigorous construction programme on Mt. T'ien-t'ai. Altogether, thirteen temples were built there by him.[37] In addition, Ch'ien Ch'u was responsible for retrieving texts of the T'ien-t'ai school which had become lost owing to the Hui-ch'ang suppression and the

disruptions of war. The Buddhist monk I-chi (919-987) lamented the fact that sources for the study of T'ien-t'ai were no longer available. When the opportunity arose, I-chi convinced Ch'ien Ch'u to dispatch envoys to Korea and Japan to retrieve the lost works.[38] In this way, the rulers of Wu Yüeh played a direct role in the restoration of the temples of Mt. T'ien-t'ai and the teachings and doctrines of the T'ien-t'ai school.

(5) Relations between Monks and Rulers.

The revival of Buddhism in Wu Yüeh and its subsequent prosperity there was to a large extent the direct outcome of warm relations between Buddhist monks and the rulers of the region. Initially, Lo Yin, a Taoist, served in the capacity of close personal advisor to Ch'ien Liu. As time passed, however, this role was increasingly taken over by Buddhist monks. Three, in particular, are noteworthy for thir contribution to the development of Wu Yüeh Buddhism:

Te-chao (891-972) of Mt. T'ien-t'ai was the spiritual leader of the Wu Yüeh state.[39] Ch'ien Ch'u first came to know Te-chao, it seems, as a young prefect of the district in which Mt. T'ien-t'ai is located. Shortly after assuming the throne, Ch'ien Ch'u summoned Te-chao to the capital and installed him as "National Teacher" (kuo-shih) of the Wu Yüeh state. At the time, Ch'ien Ch'u was twenty-one and Te-chao fifty-nine. Until the end of his

life, Te-chao served as the ruler's close personal advisor. Ch'ien Ch'u himself is said to have practiced with the many students that gathered to study under Te-chao. As a fellow student, Ch'ien Ch'u developed close ties with many of Te-chao's disciples and associates. In fact, it was largely due to the influence of Te-chao that the Prince undertook such large temple building projects on Mt. T'ien-t'ai. It was through the intercession of Te-chao as well that resulted in envoys being sent to procure lost T'ien-t'ai texts. Though his fame and influence are known to us, his teachings are not. None of his texts or doctrines have been transmitted to us. He is reputed to be the student of Fa-yen Wen-i (885-958), the founder of the Fa-yen sect of Ch'an, and the teacher of Yung-ming Yen-shou, his successor in the Fa-yen lineage.

While Te-chao was the spiritual leader of the Wu Yüeh state, and most responsible for the style of Buddhism that flourished there, the legacy of Wu Yüeh Buddhism was preserved through the efforts and writings of others. Tsan-ning (919-1001) was one such monk who had a large impact on the development of Buddhism in the Sung Dynasty. Trained as a <u>vinaya</u> master, Tsan-ning attained prominence in Wu Yüeh for his scholarly and literary accomplishments, and for his official service to the state in positions relating to monastic affairs.[40] He was originally awarded rank by Ch'ien Liu's successor, Ch'ien Yuan-kuan (Prince Wen-mu).

As his literary fame grew, his influence over the ruling classes of the state spread. Members of the ruling house, the Ch'ien clan, cultivated their literary talents under the guidance of Tsan-ning. Soldier-officials of the region formed a poetry group with him, whereby thematic verses (ch'ang-ho) were composed as a means of social intercourse. In turn, he served as Ordination Supervisor (chien-t'an) and Supervisor of Monks (seng-t'ung) for the state. Furthermore, Tsan-ning played an important role in the transfer of authority from the Wu Yüeh state back to the imperial rulers of the Sung in 978. It was Tsan-ning who accompanied Prince Chung-i (Ch'ien Ch'u) to the Sung capital, and offered stupa relics procured from Mt. A-yü wang (King Aśoka) to the Sung emperor. Symbolically, this is meant to represent that the Asokan model of good Buddhist rule, a model much admired by the rulers of Wu Yüeh [see (3) above], is being suggested for the rulers of the Sung as well. While there is little to suggest that the Sung Emperor T'ai Tsung aspired to this model, he was greatly impressed with the learning and administrative expertise that Tsan-ning had to offer. As a result, Tsan-ning was greatly admired for his expertise in literature and extensive learning by members of the Sung court, and formally served the Emperor in such positions as Director of Monks (seng-lu). In this way, as well as through his extensive writings on both Buddhist and non-Buddhist

matters.[41] Tsan-ning transmitted the cultural legacy of Wu Yüeh to the Sung. Even though the Sung court was less sympathetic to Buddhism than the Wu Yüeh court had been, the regard with which Buddhism was held in this early period of the Sung Dynasty was largely as a result of the efforts of Tsan-ning.

The other major figure responsible for the development of Wu Yüeh Buddhism, and for the transmission of its legacy beyond its borders and to future generations, was Yung-ming Yen-shou (904-975). The details of his life and one of his major works constitute the substance of this thesis. As a result, my remarks here are necessarily general ones, as a prelude to the detailed discussion to follow.

As mentioned above, Yen-shou was very much a product of the institutionalized Buddhism of the Wu Yüeh state which developed under the patronage of the ruling Ch'ien family. Though he never attained the title of "National Teacher" that Te-chao had, his fame and teachings spread as a result of being appointed to prominent temples in Hang-chou, the capital of the Wu Yüeh state. From this base, the legacy of Wu Yüeh Buddhism, as interpreted through the eyes of Yen-shou, spread. Judging from later opinion, the impact was large. Many of the subsequent trends of Buddhism in China are traced from Yen-shou.[42] In addition, Yen-shou's thought had a significant impact on the development of

Korean Buddhism.[43]

Like Te-chao, Yen-shou was an active practitioner of Buddhism. He was also an eclectic thinker and learned scholar. His greatest achievement consists in the harmonization of disparate tendencies in Buddhism into a unified system of conduct and belief. As shall be seen from the following, his efforts in this regard were not the product of idle speculation regarding the nature of Buddhist doctrine. They represent genuine concerns about the nature of contemporarry Buddhist practice, and its relation to the traditional teachings and doctrines of Buddhism.

CHAPTER II: THE LIFE OF YUNG-MING YEN-SHOU

A substantial portion of the source material pertaining to Chinese Buddhism is written in the form of biographies of Chinese Buddhist monks. A strong tendency persists in modern scholarship to view those biographical records as containing historically reliable material. As a consequence of this tendency, the biographical records of Chinese Buddhist monks are often read without sufficient critical regard for the circumstances in which particular records were written, and the aims of the Buddhist community which sponsored them. The case of Yung-ming Yen-shou is no exception. A recent study of Yen-shou's life in Shih Heng-ching's thesis, <u>The Ch'an-Pure Land Synthesis in China: With Special Reference to Yung-ming Yen-shou</u>,[1] demonstrates the inadequacy of viewing Chinese biographical records in this manner. While not entirely undiscriminating, Shih Heng-ching reads the Yen-shou biographies largely as indicating historical facts regarding Yen-shou the man, with little critical evaluation of the historicity of the documents in question. With this approach, even later historical embellishments are read as if they contain reliable information on the words and deeds of Yen-shou the man. There is little appreciation for the role that the

later Buddhist community may have had in shaping the "facts" recorded in these biographical records. In the end, this approach does little more than repeat the coloured view of Yen-shou that the tradition has developed.

The renditions of Yen-shou's life must be examined in light of the aims of its compilers. There is no other way to come to terms with the contradictory array of data and interpretations associated with his life. In the case of the compilers of Yen-shou's biographies, all employed a commonly accepted chronology of events in which to cast their image of him, but at the same time exercised a considerable amount of choice in selecting from an evolving and widely varying array of legendary stories to interpret the significance of his life. Thus, to a significant extent, the lives of Yen-shou form images that reflect the aspirations of the Buddhist community contemporary with the respective compilers: his images were cast after models suitable to contemporary religious needs.

The Sung dynasty (960-1278) was an important period in the development of Buddhist historiography.[2] The forces motivating the massive output and development of Buddhist historiographical materials during the Sung need to be carefully assessed in accordance with the renewed struggle for dominance within the Buddhist schools and sects thriving at the time. This deserves a study of its own, and is outside the scope of the present work. It will have to

suffice here to indicate the obvious lines of tension which existed between the various chroniclers, and how these may have helped to contribute to the images that they have recorded in the case of Yen-shou.

Yen-shou was a guiding figure for many of the developments that came to characterize post-T'ang Buddhism.[3] His importance was widely accepted, and his legacy was long to remain at the centre of sectarian controversies. Thus, a study of the evolving renditions of Yen-shou's "biograhical image"[4] may reflect conflicts at the core of post-T'ang Buddhism itself. In the case of Yen-shou, the conflicts centre on a debate regarding how best to come to terms with the data of Yen-shou's life; to determine what kind of Buddhist, in essence, Yen-shou was. The debate is often contained within the conventions governing Chinese Buddhist historiography and the legitimizing functions for which they were used, but it also had the potential to erupt into sectarian based, open verbal hostility.[5] In this way, the biographical image of Yen-shou often became subjected to the demands of future chroniclers in an atmosphere where Buddhist historiography was used as a battleground to substantiate the legitimacy of one's own school or sect.

To substantiate their claims, chroniclers relied on two means, both of which are closely connected with biographical writing in China. Chinese biographical

writing, generally speaking, utilizes two elements in the formation of an individual biography. The first is chronology--the record of significant, historically based facts that form the bare skeleton of an individual's life. The second is comprised of legendary materials designed to draw attention to the significant aspects of that life. Rather than fabrication, these legendary stories often represent the arbitration of conflict. Differing accounts of Yen-shou's life reflect contemporary attempts to come to terms with what the tradition considered essential. Thus, those stories frequently indicate the truth of the matter at hand in a highly stylized, more abstract, and symbolic (and thus to the compiler and his audience, more real and substantial) form.[6]

The compilers of Yen-shou's life relied on both means to create his image. On the one hand, they tended to emphasize one period, or certain periods, in the chronological life of Yen-shou as containing the events crucial to an understanding of who he was, while at the same time disregarding others. In a similar manner, they selected from among the legendary materials at their disposal in a discriminatory manner so that they both coincided with the chronological part of his life that had been deemed as most important, and emphasized personalized attributes suitable to the kind of image and model that they wished to promote. Using these means, biographers drew up

contradictory appraisals of Yen-shou's life, and relied upon increasingly diverse stories and legends from which to do so.

In the following, I have attempted to trace the development of these diverse stories and legends, and show how they helped contribute to a certain view of Yen-shou accepted by respective compilers that were very much limited by contemporary needs and aspirations. In this manner, I have reconstructed the ongoing debate in Buddhist circle as to "what kind of Buddhist, in essence, Yen-shou really was?", and the various means by which a solution was sought, as well as certain criteria governing such solution. In addition, it will be seen how the image of Yen-shou became manipulated to serve Buddhist sectarian needs, and how the manipulation of Yen-shou's image in such service has significantly coloured the view of Yen-shou down to the present day. However, before such a task may be properly undertaken, it will be necessary to consider such preliminaries as the sources from which acocunts of Yen-shou's life derive, the generally accepted chronology of events associated with his life, and the list of works attributed to Yen-shou himself.

A. Preliminary Considerations

1. Sources for the Study of Yen-shou's Life

The sources for the study of Yen-shou's life are

numerous and varied. Chinese sources which include an account of Yen-shou's life begin shortly after his death, with Tsan-ning's Sung kao-seng chuan in 988, and extend down to the present, with the publication of volume two of Chung-kuo fo-chiao by the Chinese Buddhist Association in 1981.[7] Between these there are frequent and persistent attempts to record the significant events of Yen-shou's life, attesting to the continuing importance of his image. The sources which I have consulted are representative in this regard. While not completely exhaustive, they include the principal sources from which the images of Yen-shou have been constructed. Listed according to period, they are as follows.

Sung (960-1279)

(988) Sung kao-seng chuan, ch. 28.

(1001) Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu, ch. 26.

(1029) T'ien-sheng kuang-teng lu.

(1061) Ch'uan-fa cheng-tsung chi, ch. 8.

(1123) Ch'an-lin seng-pao chuan, ch. 9.

(1160) Lung-shu ching-t'u wen, ch. 5.

(1183) Lien-teng hui-yao, ch. 28.

(1200) Lo-pang wen-lei, ch. 3.

(1230) Jen-t'ien pao-chien.

(1237) Shih-men cheng-t'ung, ch. 8.

(1252) Wu-teng hui-yao, ch. 10.

(1269) <u>Fo-tsu t'ung-chi</u>, ch. 26.

(c.1270) <u>Hsien-ch'un lin-an chih</u>, ch. 82.

<u>Yuan</u> (1279-1367)

(1305) <u>Lu-shan lien-tsung pao-chien</u>, ch. 4.

(1341) <u>Fo-tsu li-tai t'ung-tsai</u>, ch. 18.

(c.1350) <u>Shih-shih chi-ku lüeh</u>, ch. 3.

<u>Ming</u> (1368-1661)

(c.1420) <u>Shen-seng chuan</u>, ch. 9.

(c.1600) <u>Ling-yin ssu-chih</u>, ch. 3A.

(1606) <u>Yung-ming tao-chi</u>.

(c.1625) <u>Ching-tz'u ssu-chih</u>, ch. 8.

(c.1650) <u>Szu-ming shan-chih</u>, ch. 2.

<u>Ch'ing</u> (1662-1911)

(1669) <u>Shih-kuo ch'un-ch'iu</u>, ch. 89.

(1681) <u>Hsueh-t'ou ssu-chih</u>, ch. 3.

(1744) <u>Yün-lin ssu-chih</u>, ch. 4.

(c.1790) <u>Ching-t'u sheng-hsien lu</u>, ch. 3.

<u>Hang-chou fu-chih</u>, ch. 171.

<u>Che-chiang t'ung-chih</u>, ch. 198.

As will be seen in detail below, certain sources reflect significant attempts to fashion an image of Yen-shou that is compatible with the aims of a particular biographer

and the aspirations of the community that he represents. Others merely reiterate the details and patterns of Yen-shou's life established in earlier sources. Because of the marked tendency in all these sources to fashion the image of Yen-shou in a likeness that reflects contemporary needs and to manipulate and fabricate details of his life in order to suit those needs and aspirations, it is not possible to separate the images of Yen-shou from the historical facts from which they are derived. In other words, the nature of the sources is such that there is a basis in historical fact, but it is futile to try to extricate the historical facts from the aims of the image or model being propounded. Such being the case, I did not make the historical reconstruction of Yen-shou's life my aim. Instead, I have looked at the sources with an eye for the images or models of Yen-shou that they propose, showing how a particular image is demonstrated through the selection and arrangement of incidents pertaining to him. Particularly important are the unique developments in these sources; these enable one to chart the evolution of Yen-shou's image. Because the evolution of this image is inextricably bound to the sources in which it is recorded, the nature of individual sources will be discussed in conjunction with specific images of Yen-shou presented. At this point, it is useful to outline the generally accepted chronological events of Yen-shou's life.

2. Chronology of Events in Yen-shou's Life

The fashioners of Yen-shou's image relied on a generally accepted framework of events around which his life was modelled. This framework consists of Yen-shou's associations with specific teachers and temples. It provides a reasonably reliable sketch of the chronology of Yen-shou's life. This framework may be described in terms of six periods. The first consists of his youth, and his civil career as a young adult prior to entering a Buddhist monastery. The next four periods derive from the temples and teachers with which he became associated. The final period is associated with the years prior to his death. Such a chronological division is apparent from the contemporary accounts of Tsan-ning and Tao-yüan, recorded in the SKSC and CTCTL. This chronology may be reconstructed as follows.[8]

(1) Pre-monastic Period: Birth, Youth, Officialdom

Yen-shou was born in the first year of T'ien-yu (904). His original surname was Wang, and he was a native of either Ch'ien-t'ang or Yü-hang.[9] Incidents relating to his childhood and youth are either unreliable or recorded fairly late. The significant ones among them will be considered in conjunction with Yen-shou's image, below.

He undoubtedly received training suitable for one who would embark on a civil career, and probably

demonstrated early skill in poetry. We can be fairly certain that he did serve as an official. According to the CTCTL he served as an officer under the general who guarded the southern border town of Hua-t'ing. According to the SKSC he held a position as a governmental official in charge of military provisions.

(2) Study under Ts'ui-yen: Lung-ts'e Temple Period.

Considerable mystery surrounds Yen-shou's transition from official to monk. It becomes the subject of intense drama in later renditions of Yen-shou's life. It poses problems in the reconstruction of ~~his~~ chronology as well. According to the CTCTL, Yen-shou served as an officer at the age of twenty-eight, but was moved to study under the Ch'an master Ts'ui-yen who propagated his teaching in the Wu Yüeh region at the time.[10] No date is given for when Yen-shou made the transition from official to monk, but at the end of the biography we are told that he had been ordained as a monk for forty-two years. This suggests that the transition was made around the year 932, when Yen-shou would have been about twenty-eight years of age. The problem could thus be easily solved were it not for the claim of the SKSC that Yen-shou's tenure as a monk was thirty-seven years, not forty-two years as the CTCTL states. The discrepancy may be accounted for by different criteria accepted by the individual authors of each work. Tao-yüan was a Ch'an monk

who accepted the internal criteria of the Ch'an school as suitable basis for ordination. For reasons that will become clear later, this was probably not initially acceptable by government standards in the case of Yen-shou. Tsan-ning, compiler of the SKSC, was a bureaucrat-monk in the Wu Yüeh state who was personally connected with the Wu Yüeh rulers. For this reason, he probably accepted the official government criteria for Yen-shou's ordination. In 937, Yen-shou's teacher, Ts'ui-yen was invited by the reigning prince of Wu Yüeh to succeed Tao-fu as the chief priest of the recently built Lung-ts'e temple. At the time, Yen-shou would have been around thirty-three or thirty-four, accounting for the five year discrepancy in the number of years that he was ordained given in the SKSC. Following the government criteria for ordination, Yen-shou's tenure as a monk was probably only officially accepted after the appintment of his teacher Ts'ui-yen to the Lung-ts'e temple in 937. This reconstruction, though hypothetical, serves to support the otherwise differing claims of both the SKSC and CTCTL regarding the number of years spent by Yen-shou as a monk. In addition, this solution seems to be confirmed by the account of Yen-shou's biography recorded in the Ch'an-lin seng-pao chuan.[11]

(3) Study under Te-chao: Tenure on Mt. T'ien-t'ai

It is impossible to determine at what point

Yen-shou left the Lung-ts'e temple to study at Mt. T'ien-t'ai. According to both the SKSC and CTCTL, Yen-shou first meditated for a ninety day period on T'ien-chu peak, and then met with Te-chao who confirmed Yen-shou's realization. Later biographers will record many significant incidents from this period, all designed to demonstrate Yen-shou's preference for Pure Land practice, but the earliest sources record nothing that might substantiate such claims.

(4) Period as Teacher on Mt. Hsüeh-tou (Mt. Szu-ming)

According to the Szu-ming shan-chih,[12] Yen-shou first dwelled on Mt. Hsüeh-tou in the second year of Kuang-shun (952) when Yen-shou was around forty-nine years of age. If this can be trusted, this would mark the end of Yen-shou's early association with Mt. T'ien-t'ai.

As a teacher on Mt. Hsüeh-tou, Yen-shou attracted large numbers of students. According to the SKSC, in addition to teaching others, Yen-shou practiced chanting while sitting (tso-feng) and silent meditation (ch'an-mo), and led a simple, austere life.

(5) Period as Chief Priest at Ling-yin and Yung-ming Temples

Yen-shou's nine year period as a tacher on Mt. Hsüeh-tou ended in the first year of Chien-lung (960), when he was summoned by Prince Chung-i to serve as chief priest of the newly re-established monastery on Mt. Ling-yin, near

the capital city of Ch'ien-t'ang (present day Hang-chou). The appointment to a prominent temple in the capital signalled the rising fortunes of Yen-shou and his teachings in Wu Yüeh. Yen-shou would have been about fifty-seven years of age at the time of the appointment.

In the following year (961), after serving as the first generation chief priest at the Lung-yin temple for a year, he was again requested to assume the same duties at the recently built Yung-ming temple, also in the capital. Here he succeeded Tao-ch'ien, who had served as chief priest upon the completion of the temple in 954. According to the CTCTL, Yen-shou here attracted students in quite large numbers. In addition to Chinese students, Yen-shou's teachings attracted the attention of the King of Korea, who sent gifts in his honour. As a result of this, thirty-six Korean monks were ordained by Yen-shou, and returned to Korea to teach. Thus, through his long tenure at the Yung-ming temple, the prestige of Yen-shou and his teachings rose. Along with this prestige, Yen-shou had close connections with the rulers of Wu Yüeh. According to the Hsien-ch'un lin-an chih,[13] Yen-shou was largely responsible for erecting the Liu-ho t'a on the banks of the Ch'ien-t'ang river at the request of the ruling Ch'ien family. The stupa was erected in the third year of K'ai-pao (970) in order to quell the errant tides of the river.

(6) Death on Mt. T'ien-t'ai

In the seventh year of the K'ai-pao era (974), Yen-shou returned to Mt. T'ien-t'ai. During the twelfth month of the following year (975) on the twenty-sixth day, Yen-shou passed away at the age of seventy-two. On the sixth day of the first month of the following year (976), his body was interred on Mt. T'ai-tzu. Emperor T'ai Tsung of the Sung dynasty (reigned 976-997) conferred on his temple the title: shou-ning ch'an ssu (Ch'an Temple of Everlasting Tranquility), and granted him the posthumous name: chih-chueh-ch'an-shih (Ch'an Master of Wisdom and Enlightenment). According to a note appended to the end of Yen-shou's biography contained in the Ling-yin ssu-chih,[14] Yen-shou's remains were moved to the Ching-tz'u (i.e. Yung-ming) temple, in back of the Tsung-ching Hall, and given the title: "Stūpa of shou-ning (Stūpa of Everlasting Tranquility)" during the reign of Emperor Shen Tsung of the Ming dynasty (1573-1619).

Based on the above data, the chronology of events pertaining to Yen-shou's life may be reconstructed roughly as follows:

Year	Event
904	Origin in Yū-hang or Ch'ien-t'ang
?-931	Service as Government Official
932	Leaves Government Service to study under Ch'an Master Ts'ui-yen

937	Moves with Ts'ui-yen to Lung-ts'e Temple
?	Leaves Lung-ts'e Temple for Mt. T'ien-t'ai; meets Te-chao
952	Takes up residence on Mt. Hsüeh-tou; Life as Teacher commences
960	Takes up residence at Ling-yin Temple as First Generation Chief Priest, at request of Prince Chung-i
961	Succeeds Tao-ch'ien as Second Generation Chief Priest of Yung-ming Temple, at request of Prince Chung-i
970	Erects Liu-ho t'a on banks of Ch'ien-t'ang river
974	Returns to Mt. T'ien-t'ai
975	Passes away on Mt. T'ien-t'ai
976	Body interred on Mt. T'ai-tzu
976-997	Granted Posthumous Honorific Name by Sung Emperor T'ai Tsung
1573-1619	Stūpa moved to Ching-tz'u Temple

3. List of Yen-shou's Works

Yen-shou was a prolific writer. This fact is noted by nearly all chroniclers of Yen-shou's life. According to the SKSC, chief among his writings were the Wan-shan t'ung-kui chi and the Tsung-ching lu (listed in this order). He is also said to have had a fondness for poetry. In the

CTCTL, only the Tsung-ching lu is listed by name, but it is also stated that he composed numerous poems, gathas, and songs. The discrepancy is undoubtedly related to the intentions of the respective compilers of the SKSC and CTCTL, Tsan-ning and Tao-yüan, as shall be seen in the following section.

In addition, a list of Yen-shou's works is provided at the end of the Tzu-hsing lu,[15] a work which purports to account for Yen-shou's daily regimen of 108 practices. The work stems from the monk Hsuan-chu, but was re-edited by Wen-ch'ung in the Sung.[16] It is mentioned by Hui-hung in the Ch'an-lin seng-pao chuan (1123),[17] indicating that an edition of the Tzu-hsing lu was current at that time. According to no. 108 of Yen-shou's daily regimen of 108 practices listed there, Yen-shou authored some sixty-one works, amounting to one-hundred ninety-seven chüan in total. Listed in the order given in the Tzu-hsing lu, these are as follows:

1. Tsung-ching lu (100 ch.)
   ["Records of the Source Mirror"]
2. Wan-shan t'ung-kuei chi (3 ch.)
   ["Treatise on the Common End of Myriad Good Deeds"]
3. Ming-tsung lun (1 ch.)
   ["Treatise on Illuminating Fundamental Principle"]

4. Hua-yen pao-yin sung (3 ch.)

   ["Hymn to the Treasure-Seal of Hua-yen"]

5. Lun chen-hsin-t'i chüeh (1 ch.)

   ["Discussing the Secrets of True Mind-Substance"]

6. Wei-ming chüeh (1 ch.)

   ["The Secrets of Illumination"]

7. Cheng yin-kuo lun (1 ch.)

   ["Treatise on True Causes and Conditions"]

8. Tso-ch'an liu-miao men (1 ch.)

   ["The Six Wonderous Gates of Sitting-Meditation"]

9. Ling-chu tsan (1 ch.)

   ["In Praise of the Spiritual Pearl"]

10. Tso-ch'an i-kuei (1 ch.)

    ["The Formal Rituals of Sitting-Meditation"].

11. Hua-yen lun yao-lüeh (1 ch.)

    ["The Essential Outline to the Hua-yen lun"]

12. Pu-chin ko (1 ch.)

    ["Song for Giving Money"]

13. Ching shui-mien fa (1 ch.)

    ["The Methods for Guarding Against Drowsiness"]

14. Chu-hsin yao-chien (1 ch.)

    ["Essentials for Calming the Mind"]

15. Wei-hsin sung (1 ch.)

    ["Hymn to Mind-Only"]

16. Hua-yen shih-hsüan men (1 ch.)

    ["The Ten Mysterious Gates of Hua-yen"]

17. Hua-yen liu-hsiang yi (1 ch.)

["The Meaning of the Six Ways of Viewing Form in Hua-yen"]

18. Wu-ch'ang chieh (1 ch.)

["Gāthā on Impermanence"]

19. Ch'u-chia kung-te chieh (1 ch.)

["Gāthā on the Meritorious Virtue of Leaving Home (to become a Monk)"]

20. Ting-hui hsiang-tzu ko (1 ch.)

["Song on the Mutual Assistance of Meditation and Wisdom"]

21. Shih-shih wen (1 ch.)

["On Offering Food"]

22. Wen-chu ling-i chi (1 ch.)

["Record of the Miracles of Mañjuśri"]

23. Ta pei-chih yüan (1 ch.)

["On the Vow of Great Compassion and Wisdom"]

24. Fang-sheng wen (1 ch.)

["On Releasing Lives"]

25. Wen-chu li tsan-wen (1 ch.)

["Hymns of Praise for the Mañjuśri Ritual"]

26. Lo-han li tsan-wen (1 ch.)

["Hymns of Praise for the Arhat Ritual"]

27. Hua-yen li tsan-wen (1 ch.)

["Hymans of Praise for the Hua-yen Ritual"]

28. Ching-shih wen (1 ch.)

["Warning to the World"]

29. Fa erh-pai shan-hsin, tuan erh-pai wu-hsin wen (1 ch.)

["On Issuing Forth a Mind of Two Hundred Goods, and Eliminating a Mind of Two Hundred Evils"]

30. Kuan-yin li tsan-wen (1 ch.)

["Hymns of Praise for the Kuan-yin Ritual"]

31. Fa-hua li tsan-wen (1 ch.)

["Hymns of Praise for the Fa-hua Ritual"]

32. Ta-pei li tsan-wen (1 ch.)

["Hymns of Praise for the Great Compassion Ritual"]

33. Fo-ting li tsan-wen (1 ch.)

["Hymns of Praise for the Buddha's Crown (?)"]

34. P'an-jo li tsan-wen (1 ch.)

["Hymns of Praise for the Prajna Ritual"]

35. Hsi-fang li tsan-wen (1 ch.)

["Hymns of Praise for the Pure Land Ritual"]

36. P'u-hsien li tsan-wen (1 ch.)

["Hymns of Praise for the Samantabhadra Ritual"]

37. Shih ta-yüan wen (1 ch.)

["On the Ten Great Vows"]

38. Kao-seng tsan (3 ch.), 1,000 hymns

["Hymns in Praise of Eminent Monks"]

39. Shang-t'ang yü-lu (5 ch.)

["Lectures and Sayings"]

40. Chia-ch'ih wen (1 ch.)

["On Increasing Support (for Buddhism?)"]

41. Tsa-sung (1 ch.)

["Miscellaneous Hymns"]

42. Shih-tsan (1 ch.)

["Poems and Hymns of Praise"]

43. Shan-chu shih (1 ch.)

["Poems of a Mountain Dweller"]

44. Ch'iu-pu (1 ch.)

["Verse on Sadness"]

45. Wu-wai chi (10 ch.), 500 items

["Treatise on Transcending Things"]

46. Wu-yüeh ch'ang-ho shih (1 ch.)

["Wu Yüeh Couplets"]

47. Tsa-chien piao (1 ch.)

["Miscellaneous Notes"]

48. Kuang-ming hui ying-shui shih (1 ch.)

["Poems on the Auspiciousness of the Wisdom-Illumination Society (?)"]

49. Hua-yen kan-t'ung pu, 1 verse

["Verse on the Miracles of Hua-yen"]

50. Kung-yang shih-ch'iao lo-han i-shih hui hsiang-shui-shih (1 ch.)

["Poems on the Auspiciousness of the Ten Societies for Making Offerings to the Arhats of the Stonébridge (?)"]

51. Kuan-yin ling-yen pu, 1 verse

["Verse on the Miracles of Kuan-yin"]

52. Shih-chung ching-ts'e (1 ch.)

["Announcing Various Warnings"]

53. Shen-hsi an-yang pu, 1 verse

["Verse on the Peace and Nourishment of the Gods' Roost"]

54. Hsin-pu, 1 verse (7,500 characters)

["Mind Verse"]

55. Kuan-hsin hsüan-shu (3 ch.)

["The Essentials of Mind-Contemplation"]

56. Chin-kang cheng-yen pu, 1 verse

["Verse on Diamond Realization"]

57. Fa-hua ling-shui pu, 1 verse

["Verse on Fa-hua Miracles"]

58. Tsa-ko (1 ch.)

["Miscellaneous Songs"]

59. Ch'üan-shou p'u-sa chieh wen (1 ch.)

["On encouraging the Reception of the Bodhisattva Precepts"]

60. Shou p'u-sa chieh fa (1 ch.)

["The Method of Receiving the Bodhisattva Precepts"]

61. Tzu-hsing lu (1 ch.)

["Record of Practices"]

Even a cursory glance at the titles of these works exposes the diversity of Yen-shou's interests. Works of a poetic nature abound. There are many works which show his devotional tendencies as well, but interestingly, there are references to the Pure Land in only two of the titles, the Hsi-fang li-tsan wen and the Shen-hsi an-yang pu. In contrast to this, Hua-yen appears in six titles, while Fa-hua and Kuan-yin appear in four titles combined. The title of a Pure Land sutra or the name of Amitabha fails to appear in any of the titles in this list of Yen-shou's works. In addition, while terms relating to mind and mind cultivation (tso-ch'an, kuan-hsin, and so on) appear in the titles of at least a half-dozen works, there is no trace of the term nien-fo. This would not negate the existence of Pure Land elements in Yen-shou's thought, but suggests that we should re-evaluate the importance of Pure Land practices in Yen-shou's thought emphasized in the later tradition down to the present day.

The number of works listed in the Tzu-hsing lu equals its initial claim, but if one counts the total number of chüan of the listed works, the total given in the list is short of the total number initially claimed. The issue would not be a serious one were it not for the existence of nine additional works attributed to Yen-shou but not mentioned in the Tzu-hsing lu. If we add the number of chüan in these titles, we come much nearer to the professed

total in the Tzu-hsing lu of one-hundred ninety-seven. The issue is further complicated if one looks at the list of the additional works.[18]

1. Hsin-pu chu (4 ch.)
2. Wei-hsin chüeh (1 ch.)
3. San-shih hsi-nien-fo-shih (1 ch.)
4. San-shih hsi-nien-i-fan (1 ch.)
5. Ch'uan-jen nien-fo (1 ch.)
6. Nien-fo cheng-yin shuo (1 ch.)
7. Chih-chüeh ch'an-shih ch'ui-chieh wen (1 ch.)
8. San-chih pi-liang i ch'ao (1 ch.)
9. Hsin-hsing tsui-fu yin-yuan chi (3 ch.)

There is no easy way to evaluate the validity of these works. There are many titles here directly associated with nien-fo practice, but this does not suggest bias against nien-fo on the part of the compilers of the Tzu-hsing lu. Other works of Yen-shou mentioned in the Tzu-hsing lu list pertain to Pure Land practice.

Of the sixty-one works attributed to Yen-shou in the Tzu-hsing lu, eleven are extant. These constitute the more reliable sources from which to investigate Yen-shou's thought. The eleven are:[19]

1. Tsung-ching lu (100 ch.)
2. Wan-shan t'ung-kuei chi (3 ch.)
3. Ting-hui hsiang-tzu ko (1 ch.)
4. Ching-shih wen (1 ch.)

5. Shan-chu shih (1 ch.)
6. Shen-hsi an-yang pu, 1 verse
7. Hsin-pu, 1 verse (7,500 characters)
8. Kuan-hsin hsüan-shu (3 ch.)
9. Chin-kang chêng-yen pu, 1 verse
10. Shou p'u-sa chieh fa (1 ch.)
11. Tzu-hsing lu (1 ch.)

Yen-shou's authorship of the Tsung-ching lu and Wan-shen t'ung-kuei chi, his two most important works, is confirmed by the testimony of Tsan-ning in the SKSC, as mentioned previously. No publication dates accompany any of Yen-shou's works, making it difficult to determine at what point in Yen-shou's career individual works were written. Yen-shou's biographies, whether early or late, fail to provide any real clues either. There is speculation that the Tsung-ching lu dates from Yen-shou's tenure on Mt. Hsüeh-tou (952-960) as a Ch'an teacher,[20] and that the Wan-shan t'ung-kuei chi dates from his tenure at Yung-ming temple (961-975),[21] but there is no reliable evidence to support it. Unless some other evidence emerges in future, the situation is such that there is no satisfactory way of determining when Yen-shou wrote his respective works.

B. The Life of Yung-ming Yen-shou: Conflicting Images

1. The Earliest Accounts:

The Sung kao-seng chuan (SKSC) (988)

and the Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu (CTCTL) (1004)

Preliminary Considerations

The portrayal of Yen-shou in the SKSC and the CTCTL is in each case shaped by the oreintation of the respective compiler. Both the SKSC and CTCTL biographies were compiled by authors who were contemporaries of Yen-shou and knew of him personally.[22] Tsan-ning and Tao-yüan, like Yen-shou himself, were both products of the Buddhism that flourished in the state of Wu Yüeh through the generous support and encouragement of the ruling Ch'ien family.[23] They were intimately aware of the details surrounding Yen-shou's life and the situation of Buddhism in the state of Wu Yüeh. In addition, the biograhies that they compiled, written shortly after the death of Yen-shou, are the earliest renditions of Yen-shou's biography that we possess. As such, they are responsible for establishing important features of the Yen-shou biography that will influence the considerations of future chroniclers. Most important here is who, in the opinion of Tsan-ning and Tao-yüan, Yen-shou really was. In each case, there are significant criteria bearing upon their judgement.

The SKSC was commissioned by the Sung Emperor and

compiled without any clear sectarian bias. In its categorization of monks, the SKSC employs a format inherited from its predecessors, the KSC and HKSC, whereby the lives of eminent monks are recorded in each of ten categories.[24] Within this system, Yen-shou is awarded eminence under the category of "Promoter of Works of Merit" (hsing-fu), and his biography recorded there. The significance of this classification will become clear as we proceed. In classifying Yen-shou as a "Promoter of Works of Merit", Tsan-ning passed over such categories as "Meditators" (hsi-ch'an), the category at Tsan-ning's disposal most befitting a ch'an practitioner, and that of "Exegetes" (i-chieh), the category most befitting a prolific writer. Instead, Tsan-ning placed Yen-shou under the category of hsing-fu, a category whose numbers were on the rise during the Five Dynasties period. Thus, rather than indentifying Yen-shou with categories that characterized the major activities of Buddhist monks in the past (i.e., "Exegetes" and "Meditators") and represented focal points of Buddhist activity prior to the Five Dynasties, Tsan-ning saw Yen-shou as a representative of different forces and placed him in one of the categories that represented these new forces.[25]

Unlike the SKSC which has no clear sectarian affiliation, the CTCTL is written for the express purpose of verifying the correct lineage of the Ch'an school. In it are recorded the activities, master-disciple relations,

discourses and dialogues of some 1700 <u>ch'an</u> practitioners, making it one of the principal sources for the study of Ch'an Buddhism. The identity of Yen-shou here is closely connected with the aims of the CTCTL's compiler. Tao-yüan compiled the CTCTL in order to promote the fortunes of the Fa-yen sect among the so-called "Five Houses" of Ch'an Buddhism current at the time. Each of the Five Houses claimed to represent the correct lineage of the Ch'an school descending from the legendary Sixth Patriarch, Hui-neng. Significantly, the CTCTL counters the earlier claims of the <u>Tsu-t'ang chi</u> (written in 952),[26] which favoured those masters deriving from Sixth Patriarch through Nan-yüeh Huai-jang and Ma-tsu Tao-i.[27] In the CTCTL, Yen-shou is given a prominent place in the linage of the Fa-yen sect, which traces itself through the disciples of another student of the Sixth Patriarch, Hsing-ssu. Yen-shou is placed as the third master in the lineage of the Fa-yen sect, following the founder Fa-yen Wen-i, and the latter's successsor, Yen-shou's teacher, T'ien-t'ai Te-chao.[28] As the third patriarch in the Fa-yen lineage, Yen-shou had a high profile among later adherents of the Ch'an school. This profile was in marked contrast with the way in which he had been classified by Tsan-ning in the SKSC. How, if any, is this contrast reflected in the image of Yen-shou recorded in the SKSC and the CTCTL?

The Biography of Yen-shou in the SKSC

The sketch of Yen-shou in the SKSC is brief. The style is that of a documentation of significant events in outline form, rather than a personalized portrayal or detailed explanation of those events. The SKSC biographies are generally based on tomb inscriptions (ming-t'a) written to accompany the stupas, or tombs, of deceased monks.[29] Yen-shou's biography in the SKSC appears to be based on such an inscription placed inside a pavillion erected at the site where he was interred on Mt. T'ai-tzu.[30]

Other than the fact that his family name was Wang and that he hailed from Ch'ien-t'ang, the SKSC has nothing to say about the early years of Yen-shou's life. Regarding his transition from official to monk, it has considerably more to say. It states that he held a position as a governmental official in charge of military provisions; that he was honest by nature; and that he recited the Lotus Sutra ceaselessly. At that time, it states, the teaching of the Ch'an master Ts'ui-yen Ling-ts'an flourished, and Yen-shou left his wife and child to become his disciple.[31] Nothing further is said of his study under Ts'ui-yen; the Lung ts'e temple is not mentioned. Instead, the account moves to Yen-shou's period of tenure on Mt. T'ien-t'ai. When he practiced meditation for ninety days on T'ien-chu peak, birds are said to have built nests in the folds of his robes. When he met with Te-chao, Te-chao is said to have

confirmed Yen-shou's realization. The SKSC then states that Yen-shou retreated to Mt. Hsüeh-tou. during his tenure there, we are told that aside from teaching, Yen-shou practiced chanting while sitting (tso-feng) and silent meditation (ch'an-mo) in front of a waterfall, and that his clothing and food were simple to the point of being austere. No specific mention is made in the SKSC of Yen-shou's appointment to the Ling-yin and Yung-ming temples, though his residence at the latter temple is confirmed as Yen-shou's main place of residence by the title of the biography itself. The biography proper merely states that the prince (of Wu Yüeh) greatly revered Yen-shou and encouraged his charitable and compassionate activities, specified as the performing of the mahāyāna ritual for repentance[32] and the buying of living creatures and setting them free. Following this, there is the statement, "to the surprise of some, Yen-shou's facial expression did not change." This sentence seems curiously out of place here, but has considerable bearing upon the descriptions of Yen-shou's change from official to monk in later accounts. This is followed by statements of a general nature supposed to be indicative of Yen-shou's character: he recited the Lotus Sūtra more than 13,000 times throughout his life; he encouraged the faithful to construct Buddhist stupas and images; he lived without possessions; was fond of poetry; and wrote extensively. His two major works, the Wan-shan

t'ung-kuei chi and the Tsung-ching lu, are mentioned by name (in this order). The biography concludes by noting his connections with the king of Korea, his age, number of years as a monk, and place of interrment (see section B, above).

The image of Yen-shou in the SKSC, though brief, is balanced. It contains references to almost all of the significant periods in the chronology of Yen-shou's life. Though it highlights Yen-shou as a "Promoter of Works of Merit", and recounts many of the deeds and practices associated with him in accordance with this categorization--charitable and compassionate activities (performing of the mahāyāna ritual for repentance, the buying of living creatures and setting them free), encouraging the faithful to construct Buddhist stupas and images, and recitation of the Lotus Sutra--this is not done at the expense of his associations with Ch'an masters and his affinity for meditation (ch'an) practice. His decision to become a monk is closely associated with the Ch'an master Ts'ui-yen; his realization is confirmed by Te-chao following a long period of meditation on Mt. T'ien-t'ai; and suitable representation is given to his ch'an meditational activities on Mt. Hsüeh-tou. Thus, according to the SKSC image, though Yen-shou may best be regarded as a "Promoter of Works of Merit" and engages freely in compassionate activities, this in no way denies his ch'an practice and associations.

The Biography of Yen-shou in the CTCTL

In contrast to the SKSC, the CTCTL is clearly written as a tribute to Yen-shou the Ch'an master.[33] In keeping with its assertion to transmit the essence of Ch'an through master-disciple relations, the stress of the CTCTL is on the dialogues, poems, and short discourses that are supposed to characterize the Ch'an teaching of a particular master. The CTCTL account was clearly written after that of the SKSC. Aside from the respective compilation dates associated with each collection, the CTCTL records posthumous names and titles awarded to Yen-shou and the Yung-ming temple by the Sung emperor where the SKSC is silent. Certain phrases in the CTCTL are clearly borrowed from the SKSC. On the whole, the CTCTL account represents a later, more embellished image of Yen-shou than the SKSC, an image that is styled to meet the demands placed on it by the collection as a whole.

Concerning Yen-shou's youth, about which the SKSC is silent, the CTCTL has many things to say: that he was devoted to Buddhism from his early childhood; that at the age of twenty he began to abstain from meat and eat only one meal a day; that he read the Lotus Sūtra at exceedingly great speed and in sixty days could recite the entire text; and that a number of sheep were inspired by this and knelt down to listen.

With regard to Yen-shou's transition from official

to monk, and his tenure with Ts'ui-yen and at the Lung-ts'e temple, the CTCTL has additional things to say. In this biography, we are told that he served as a military official in Hua-t'ing; as with the SKSC, that Ts'ui-yen propagated his teachings at this time; and that later, Ts'ui-yen came to reside at the Lung-ts'e temple and spread his teachings far and wide; that because Prince Wen-mo of Wu Yüeh realized Yen-shou's devotion to Ch'an and sympathized with his strong faith in Buddhism, the prince released Yen-shou from his government service and permitted him to become a monk; and that thus, Yen-shou became Ts'ui-yen's disciple. Following this, details regarding Yen-shou's life at the Lung-ts'e temple are given. He worked as a laborer in the temple, entirely forgetting himself in this and his service to the other monks. Statements regarding the simplicity and austerity of his food and clothing appear here. These statements are virtually identical to those in the SKSC, but in the SKSC they are associated with his life on Mt. Hsüeh-tou rather than at the Lung-ts'e temple.

At Mt. T'ien-t'ai, the story that Yen-shou meditated for ninety days whereby birds nested in his robes appears here virtually unchanged from the SKSC. The meeting with Te-chao, however, is more fully developed here than in the SKSC. It is through Te-chao, we are told, that the essence of Ch'an is transmitted to Yen-shou. Such elaboration here makes sense in terms of Tao-yüan's intention to verify that

the correct line of transmission passed from Te-chao to Yen-shou. Moreover, during this encounter Te-chao predicts that Yen-shou will cause Buddhism to flourish in the future owing to his close relationship with the Wu Yüeh rulers, and secretly predicts that he will attain Buddhahood in the future.

On Mt. Hsüeh-tou, we are told that Yen-shou first dwelled as a Ch'an master, and that he attracted many students. It is here as well that the CTCTL begins to record the poems and exchanges with students, conventional requirements of the Ch'an tradition at this time, that were supposed to represent the unique character of Yen-shou's Ch'an teaching.

These poems and exchanges are practically all that is recorded of Yen-shou's life at Yung-ming temple, which the CTCTL account asserts was the centre for Ch'an training. These poems are undoubtedly included as expositions of an enlightened Ch'an master, and intended as the "fount of truth" around which the whole biography is structured.

Upon Yen-shou's return to Mt. T'ien-t'ai, we are informed that he engaged in the following activities: that he ordered that the Bodhisattva precepts be given to the general public; that he made offerings of food at night to ghosts and spirits; that he set many captive birds and fish free in the morning; and that he spread flowers six times

during the day and night.

In addition, it is asserted that he recited the Lotus Sūtra 13,000 times, as in the SKSC. References to his prolific writings, his poetry, and his associations with Korea are related here in a manner familiar to us from before, as are details surrounding his death and interrment on Mt. T'ai-tzu.

The CTCTL provides a relatively thorough portrait of Yen-shou by a sympathetic contemporary. The essence of the image drawn by Tao-yüan is that of an enlightened Ch'an master who engages in pithy dialogues with other Ch'an monks to test one another's understanding of Ch'an. While such an image is quite understandable in terms of Tao-yüan's aims, in Yen-shou's own writings this style of debate plays only a minor part. As we shall see later, there is not much, if any, evidence to suggest that Yen-shou held the Fa-yen sect in particularly high regard among the branches of the Ch'an school. The reason for placing Yen-shou in the Fa-yen lineage was his association with Te-chao. In this regard, even the SKSC concurs that it was Te-chao that confirmed Yen-shou's realization.

Conclusion

Even though Tsan-ning regarded Yen-shou as essentially a "Promoter of Works of Merit" (hsing-fu), he classified Te-chao under the category of ch'an practitioners

(hsi-ch'an). As we saw above, even though Yen-shou, in keeping with his image as "Promoter of Works of Merit", was most noted in the SKSC for the various practices he engaged in and encouraged, his activity as a Ch'an master was also readily admitted. In the CTCTL, a balance in Yen-shou's practices and activities is equally ascertainable, though the emphasis is just the reverse of that in the SKSC. Thus, in the CTCTL diverse practices and activities are ascribed to Yen-shou upon his return to Mt. T'ien-t'ai--making offerings of food at night to ghosts and spirits, setting captive birds and fish free in the morning, spreading flowers (as an act of worship) at specified times throughout the day and night, conferring the Bodhisattva precepts on the general populace, and his fondness for reciting the Lotus Sūtra.

Both biographies ascribe diverse practices and activities to Yen-shou; only the emphasis is different in each. Furthermore, there are many things in which the SKSC and CTCTL accounts of Yen-shou are in basic agreement. They both stress his fondness for the Lotus Sūtra, the importance of his Ch'an practice and associations, and the emphasis that he placed on performing compassionate works and deeds in order to save sentient beings. While the image of Yen-shou in each case is drawn so as to suit the aims of the respective compilers, the images recorded are not openly

contradictory. They are drawn from two different aspects of Yen-shou's life. But in the SKSC and the CTCTL, no disharmony is supposed to exist between these two aspects. Later sources see conflict between these aspects and draw different pictures of Yen-shou's life. Each aspect becomes fuel for sectarian debate in the later Buddhist tradition. The basic identity of Yen-shou becomes a matter of open debate.

There are certain problems with placing Yen-shou as a Ch'an patriarch in the Fa-yen lineage. The obvious one has been pointed out above and is closely connected with the reasons why Tsan-ning did not regard Yen-shou as essentially a ch'an practitioner. A less obvious one has to do with the criteria by which a Ch'an lineage is usually established as opposed to the way in which Yen-shou rose to a position of prominence in Wu Yüeh Buddhism. Traditional Ch'an lineage is based exclusively on the master-disciple relationship, through which the essence of Ch'an is transmitted. While both the SKSC and the CTCTL assert the role played by Te-chao in affirming Yen-shou's realization, Yen-shou's rise to prominence seems to have little to do with Te-chao or Mt. T'ien-t'ai, but is substantially based on Yen-shou's relation with the rulers of the Wu Yüeh state. It is a Wu Yüeh ruling prince who realizes Yen-shou's devotion to Ch'an and Buddhist faith, and consequently releases him from government service to become a monk. It is a Wu Yüeh ruling

prince as well that honours Yen-shou by appointing him to prestigious temples in the capital, and encourages his charitable and compassionate activities.

Following this line of thinking, there is the tradition of regarding Yen-shou according to his position in the Yung-ming temple lineage. Thus, while the CTCTL aims to cast the image of Yen-shou in the form of a traditional Ch'an master, there is much to suggest that he may not be so comfortably rendered in such a guise.[34]

Later biographies of Yen-shou that deviate from the SKSC and CTCTL generally do so on two accounts. On the one hand, there is a tendency to stress certain kinds of activities that Yen-shou engaged in according to the image being promoted. There is also a stress on the place that these activities are engaged in, in accordance with the sectarian affiliation for Yen-shou being promoted. This sometimes entails the shifting of details of Yen-shou's life to the context appropriate to the sectarian aims of a particular biographical collection. More importantly, it also involves the incorporation of previously unrecorded materials that have a crucial bearing upon the determination of Yen-shou's identity. These new materials are closely connected with the aims of a respective compiler and the Buddhist community that he represents.

Secondly, considerable ambiguity surrounds Yen-shou's change from his career as an official to that of

a monk. This ambiguity is already apparent in the SKSC and CTCTL. The SKSC states simply that Yen-shou left his wife and child to become a disciple of Ts'ui-yen. The CTCTL claims that because the reigning prince of Wu Yüeh realized Yen-shou's devotion to Ch'an and sympathized with his strong faith in Buddhism, the prince released Yen-shou from his government service and allowed him to become a monk. Later sources make much of this transition and see it as the result of conflicting circumstances. The explanations that they provide deviate widely from those provided by either the SKSC or CTCTL. The explanations of later sources for Yen-shou's career change are closely associated with the determination of his identity in those sources; the explanations involve a story, intense and dramatic, which purports to indicate the most crucial juncture in Yen-shou's life around which the meaning of his life revolves.

2. Later Ch'an Biographical Developments: The Ch'an-lin seng-pao chuan (CLSPC) (1123) and The Jen-t'ien pao-chien (JTPC) (1230)

Preliminary Considerations

The CTCTL, in advancing the cause of the Fa-yen sect of Ch'an, furthered the ongoing sectarian struggle over the correct lineage of the school. Likewise, subsequent Ch'an historians were eager to promote the causes and lineages of their own sects. In this context, it is not difficult to

understand why the biography of Yen-shou fails to appear in some later Ch'an collections of biographies [e.g. the Chien-chung ching-kuo hsü-teng lu, compiled by Wei-po in 1101, and the Chia-t'ai p'u-teng, compiled by Cheng-shou (1146-1208)].[36] This merely signals the subsequent decline and eclipse of the Fa-yen sect, and the flourishing of others (e.g. Yün-wen and Lin-chi). But it is difficult to understand why Yen-sho's biography is not among those collected by Li Tsun-hsü entitled T'ien-sheng kuang-teng lu (1029),[37] compiled soon after the CTCTL. In it the Fa-yen sect is recorded, but Yen-shou is not recognized as a member.[38] Nor is he included among any of the other Ch'an sects recorded there. In this case, his absence suggests much more than sectarian conflict. The very nature of Yen-shou's identity as a Ch'an master is here being questioned by one who represents the interests of the Ch'an school and recognizes the legitimacy of the Fa-yen sect. However, this assessment was not universally accepted. The Fa-yen sect, including Yen-shou, again appears prominently in the Ch'uan-fa cheng-tsung chi (1061) of Ch'i-sung.[39]

The question of Yen-shou's identity as a Ch'an master was initially raised, as we have seen, when Tsan-ning classified him under the category of "Promoters of Works of Merit" in the SKSC. The issue of this identity was brought to the fore in Buddhist circles when Hui-hung, in his Lin-chien lu (1123), openly challenged Tsan-ning's

categorization.[40]

> Tsan-ning compiled the extensive Sung kao-seng chuan, utilizing ten categories for the purpose of classification. He placed Exegetes at the top. This is laughable. Moreover, he presented the Ch'an master Yen-tou Huo as a "Practitioner of Ascetism" and the Ch'an master Chih-chüeh (Yen-)shou as a "Promoter of Works of Merit". The great teacher Yün-men is chief among monks. He is contemporary with these people, but surprisingly (Tsan-ning) does not even mention him.

Furthermore, as if to further restore the tarnished image of Yen-shou the Ch'an master, Hui-hung wrote an extensive biography in his behalf. It is in this biography that we find significant development in the biographical image of Yen-shou deriving from the later records of the Ch'an school.

Most biographies of Yen-shou recorded in Ch'an sources are heavily indebted to the materials collected by Tao-yüan in the CTCTL, and add nothing new to the biographical image of Yen-shou. Ch'i-sung's work, the Ch'uan-fa cheng-tsung chi (1061), generally provides no biographical data for Ch'an masters after the Sixth Patriarch, but merely clarifies the genealogy of the Ch'an school by asserting the relation between master and disciple in generations numbered from Hui-neng. The Lien-tung hui-yao (1183) of Wu-ming[41] was formed for the purpose of kung-an study, and includes no biographical information. The material it records is either taken directly or derived from the dialogues, statements and poetic utterances already

attributed to Yen-shou in the CTCTL. The Wu-teng hui-yao (1252) of P'u-chi[42] is a collection which edits materials concerned with transmission records in the Ch'an school. In the case of Yen-shou, it merely repeats the biography recorded in the CTCTL and thus provides no new material. Among later Ch'an collections, only two biographies furnish us with new materials regarding Yen-shou. One was written by Hui-hung in connection with his interest in Yen-shou described above, and recorded in his CLSPC (1123) and the Ling-yin ssu-chih.[43] The other is the portrait of Yen-shou compiled by T'an-hsiu in the JTPC (1230).[44]

The Biography of Yen-shou in the Ch'an-lin seng-pao chuan (CLSPC)

The materials collected in the CLSPC account of Yen-shou are fairly extensive, but only a small portion of them relate to the biography of Yen-shou. Most of the materials recorded appear to be taken directly from Yen-shou's own writings, particularly from the Tsung-ching lu. We noted previously that this was the only work of Yen-shou's mentioned by name in the CTCTL. The use of the Tsung-ching lu in the CLSPC serves further to confirm the association of this work with the aims of the Ch'an school. Briefly characterized, the work is employed in the CLSPC to demonstrate the essential harmony between Ch'an and traditional, doctrinally based Buddhist schools. The discussion

focuses on the nature of mind. The materials recorded are structured around a question and answer style of debate similar to that commonly employed by Ch'an masters. Of the biographical materials recorded, most are derived directly from the CTCTL. The noteable exception is the explanation provided here for Yen-shou's abandonment of his official career and decision to become a monk, which constitutes the pivotal event of the CLSPC biography.

In the CLSPC, we are informed that when Yen-shou was returning to Ch'ien-t'ang by boat, he saw a fishing boat with numerous fish gasping for air in agony. He bought them and set them free in the river. As a result of this incident, we are told, Yen-shou ripped off his official robe and went to study under Ts'ui-yen. When he moved with Ts'ui-yen to take up residence at Lung-ts'e temple, Prince Wen-mo got wind of the incident. He admired Yen-shou and allowed him to discard his household duties and become a monk. From here the story continues in an already familiar manner.

In addition to the graphic portrayal of Yen-shou's personality that this story purports to reveal, this acocunt of the circumstances surrounding Yen-shou's change from official to monk is of interest in comparison to the early biograhies of Yen-shou. Setting fish free, it will be recalled, was a practice ascribed to Yen-shou in the CTCTL, although it was there connected with his activities on Mt.

T'ien-t'ai near the end of his life. Furthermore, interesting parallel statements appear in his own works. For example, in Chapter I of the WSTKC, Yen-shou states:[45]

> The overturning of birds in a cage or fish in a sacrificial vessel is called joyful bliss.

Among Yen-shou's non-extant works, there is an essay entitled "On Releasing Lives" (Fang-sheng wen).

More importantly, this story has parallels with an earlier tradition regarding the life of Chih-i, founder of the T'ien-t'ai school.[46] According to this tradition, Chih-i greatly lamented the suffering resulting from those living around him who engaged in fishing for a living. As a consequence, he sold his clothes and with the money bought the captured fish and set them free, and created ponds for the special purpose of setting such fish free in (fang-sheng chih ch'ih). It is also said that associations (fang-sheng hui) became widely established to carry out this practice as a result of Chih-i's advocacy of setting fish free. In this regard, the CLSPC version of Yen-shou's change from official to monk serves to further connect the image of Yen-shou with the example of Chih-i. Stories about setting fish free to demonstrate Buddhist compassion have strong associations with T'ien-t'ai tradition. The inclusion of Yen-shou in this genre of stories is intended to affirm his association with that tradition.

The Biography of Yen-shou in the Jen-t'ien pao-chien (JTPC)

The CLSPC incident recounted above does not appear in the biography of Yen-shou recorded some one hundred years later in the JTPC. The image of Yen-shou as a Ch'an master was being increasingly questioned; the details associated with Yen-shou's life had yet to reach a stable form. The JTPC, like the CLSPC, is written primarily in recognition of the doctrinal harmony that Yen-shou promoted, specifically mentioning the Tsung-ching lu. But though the two works share this common aim, there are many aspects which set them apart. Many of the details attributed here in the JTPC to Yen-shou had not been documented in the CLSPC. Crucial to the story of Yen-shou presented in the JTPC is an incident relating to his childhood, a portion of Yen-shou's life about which almost nothing has been said until now.

In the JTPC, we are informed that his ancestors hailed from Tan-yang (in Chiangsu). His father came to Wu Yüeh as a result of joining the military, and eventually settled in Ch'ien-t'ang. To the master (i.e. Yen-shou) himself, are attributed unique talents from birth. A curious story is recorded to demonstrate this. It is said that when his parents were having a quarrel and would not stop even at the urgings of others, Yen-shou threw himself to the ground from a high bed. Both parents, overcome with fear, embraced Yen-shou with tears in their eyes. As a result of this, they stopped their quarrel.

The point of the JTPC story is to demonstrate just how intrinsic Yen-shou's ability to settle disputes is to his character. This story, recounted at the outset of Yen-shou's biography in the CLSPC, sets the stage for the view of Yen-shou as a harmonizer of Buddhist doctrine which is the aim of the biography as a whole. Thus, the story serves as an effective prelude to these concerns.

The line following this story suits the motive of the JTPC to present Yen-shou as a harmonizer as well. We are informed that when Yen-shou grew up, he became a student of Confucianism. This is to hint at the feature in Yen-shou's thought that expands beyond Buddhist concerns to incorporate non-Buddhist teaching. The promotion of this concern appears throughout the JTPC.

The subsequent chronology of Yen-shou's life given in the JTPC follows an already established pattern. Following his return to Mt. T'ien-t'ai in 974, three other stories pertaining to Yen-shou's life are documented. All relate to his tenure on Mt. T'ien-t'ai, but make little sense as events occurring at the end of Yen-shou's life. The first tells of how Yen-shou, while at a high resting place on White Cloud peak, read the Hua-yen ching. As a consequence of reading the line proclaiming that if Bodhisattvas do not issue forth great vows they commit the deeds of Mara, two things are attributed to Yen-shou. First, he compiled passages from the Great Vehicle

pertaining to vows of compassion and wisdom. Secondly, he completed daily practices for the benefit of deluded sentient beings.

The second story tells of an event that occurred when Yen-shou was performing repentance at the Kuo-ch'ing temple on Mt. T'ien-t'ai. While circumambulating the image of P'u-hsien (Samantabhadra) in the middle of the night, Yen-shou witnessed a lotus flower that had been offered to P'u-hsien suddenly appear in his hand. As a result of this, Yen-shou is said to have scattered flowers as offerings throughout his life.

The third story tells of how Yen-shou perceived Kuan-yin annointing his mouth with sweet dew, and that as a result of this, Yen-shou obtained great eloquence. This is obviously intended to account for his literary talent. Following this, Yen-shou's authorship of the Tsung-ching lu is mentioned. This is in turn connected to Yen-shou's cardinal achievement, the harmonization of diverse elements of Buddhist doctrine.

By the time the JTPC was written, versions of these stories had already appeared in Pure Land sources. Thus, these stories appear to be included in the JTPC biography as a concession to the image of Yen-shou being promoted among Pure Land adherents. The examination of what is significant about these stories is best deferred until the discussion of Pure Land inspired accounts of Yen-shou's life. Their

connection with a Ch'an inspired biography is thus a curious one. Here, let us simply note the following: the last two stories attempt to explain how the two propensities of Yen-shou's life, one towards practice and one towards scholarship, are the result of divine intercession, and the first story suggests that the harmonization of these two propensities grew out of Yen-shou's reading of the Hua-yen ching (which replaces the Lotus Sūtra in this biography as the main scriptural influence on his life).

Conclusion

Later Ch'an sources continue the debate over Yen-shou's identity inspired by the SKSC and the CTCTL. In the T'ien-sheng kuang-teng lu Yen-shou is not mentioned, even though Te-chao and five of his students are recorded in the Fa-yen lineage. His status as third patriarch in the Fa-yen lineage is restored by Ch'i-sung in the Ch'uan-fa cheng-tsung chi, but the continuation of this debate is still detectable in the comments of Hui-hung in the Lin-chien lu.

Developments in the image of Yen-shou recorded in later Ch'an biograhies are connected to the debate over Yen-shou's identity. Most sources that include a biography of Yen-shou are content to follow the characterization put forth by Tao-yüan in the CTCTL. Yet, in some new documented developments, an altered image of Yen-shou emerges. Both the biography of Yen-shou compiled by Hui-hung in the CLSPC

and that recorded in the JTPC are inspired by a view of Yen-shou in his capacity as a doctrinal harmonizer. While both of these sources are concerned with upholding Yen-shou's integrity as a Ch'an master, neither is concerned with his image as a patriarch in the Fa-yen lineage. This suggests the formation of a new basis from which to appreciate Yen-shou in Buddhist circles, and one that need not be restricted to the Ch'an school alone. It is important to note, however, that this new appreciation is intrinsically linked to the identity of Yen-shou as a Ch'an master, although one with strong scholarly proclivities. In both the CLSPC and the JTPC, it is the Tsung-ching lu alone among Yen-shou's works which figure prominently, an association detected earlier in the CTCTL. In the end, then, Ch'an sources preserve two images of Yen-shou: the Fa-yen sectarian image and a non-sectarian image of Yen-shou as doctrinal harmonizer.

The need to recast Yen-shou's image itself suggests that the earlier image was no longer accepted by everyone. The manner of re-shaping directly reflects the nature of the contemporary Buddhist community. In both the CLSPC and the JTPC, dramatic elements are introduced into the narrative of Yen-shou's life. In both cases, the impulsive behaviour that Yen-shou displays is intended to reveal something special about Yen-shou's character. This is a new feature in biograhies of the Ch'an school. This feature has close

and significant parallels in the biographies of Yen-shou traceable to Pure Land inspiration. The JTPC biography is particularly noteworthy in this regard, as it records elements that directly reflect the Pure Land trend to focus on stories of two types: those containing dramatic episodes which influence the course of Yen-shou's life, and those which ascribe the motivation for his work to divine intervention.

The reasons why the re-shaping of Yen-shou's image was necessary are also suggested in the JTPC. The legacy of Yen-shou had been forgotten among Ch'an masters. Prior to the Hsi-ning era (1068-1077), many Ch'an masters did not even know Yen-shou's name. The JTPC then attempts to document the revival of Yen-shou in Ch'an circles, connecting it solidly with his scholarly acumen. In the re-shaping process, it is only natural that new elements became pronounced, reflecting the proclivities of the age.

It is the changing proclivities of the age that guided the formation of a new image of Yen-shou. These proclivities are detectable in later Ch'an sources (the CLSPC and JTPC), but the new image of Yen-shou emerged most clearly in the records of the Pure Land movement. We shall now turn to an examination of Pure Land inspired biographies.

3. Yen-shou and the Pure Land: The *Lung-shu ching-t'u wen* (LSCTW) (1160), The *Lo-pang wen-lei* (LPWL) (1200), The *Shih-men cheng-t'ung* (SMCT) (1237), and the *Fo-tsu t'ung-chi* (FTTC) (1269)

Preliminary Considerations

That the old image of Yen-shou was no longer adequate is most clearly documented in sources of Pure Land inspiration. In later Chinese Buddhism there developed a movement which identified Yen-shou as essentially a Pure Land practitioner. The effect of this identification was a new image which attempted to distance Yen-shou from his past Ch'an associations and that eventually resulted in Yen-shou's being elevated to the status of patriarch in the Pure Land lineage.

While devotees of the Pure Land appear early in the history of Chinese Buddhism,[47] it was not until after the decline of the scholastically oriented Chinese Buddhist schools in the late T'ang that the movement became a central force in the development of Buddhism in China.[48] There are two major factors which made Yen-shou an attractive model in this movement.

First of all, from the beginning there had been an acceptance that Yen-shou's range of activities extended beyond the range of what is commonly associated with a Ch'an master. Thus, Tsan-ning identified Yen-shou as a "Promoter

of Works of Merit", and even Tao-yüan, who saw Yen-shou as a Ch'an master, admitted to the wide range of activities that Yen-shou engaged in. Furthermore, the ambiguity of Yen-shou's identity is reflected in his own writings.

Secondly, during the Sung dynasty (960-1279), the Pure Land movement was fostered in particular by historians of the T'ien-t'ai school with which it seemed to exhibit a special affinity. It was by historians from this school that biographies of Pure Land masters were usually written, and that the lineage of Pure Land patriarchs was established. Previously, we witnessed the revival of Mt. T'ien-t'ai as a Buddhist centre during Yen-shou's lifetime. Through the efforts of Yen-shou's teacher, Te-chao, the leader of Buddhism in Wu Yüeh, and the rulers of the Wu Yüeh state, Mt. T'ien-t'ai again became a prominent Buddhist centre and the teachings of the T'ien-t'ai school flourished. As a result of this, many significant events in the life of Yen-shou are closely associated with Mt. T'ien-t'ai. In Ch'an sources, his enlightenment is associated with his period of meditation here and his meeting with Te-chao. It is to Mt. T'ien-t'ai that he returns to die as well. The influence of T'ien-t'ai teaching on Yen-shou is readily apparent from his almost constant association with the Lotus Sūtra, the most highly regarded scripture in the T'ien-t'ai school. Finally, the dramatization of Yen-shou's transition from an official

career to that of a monk parallels closely a genre of stories well established in the T'ien-t'ai tradition.

The image of Yen-shou that emerges in Pure Land biographies is closely alligned with the miraculous. Miraculous stories and other incidents are reported around the stupa of Yen-shou, suggesting that his image in the Pure Land movement grew out of pilgrimage accounts. It is characteristic of the Pure Land inspired biographies of Yen-shou to record both dramatically embellished stories and stories in which crucial issues are resolved through miraculous intervention. In addition, most of these stories are connected with Yen-shou's tenure on Mt. T'ien-t'ai. The embellishments and fabrications of these stories reflect the popularity of the figure of Yen-shou as an object of admiration, emulation, and worship in the Pure Land movement.

There are several sources which are important for their contribution in documenting the tendencies described above. The motivation from which each is inspired is evident in the way the biography of Yen-shou is presented in that source. The LSCTW,[49] an early source in which the tendency to view Yen-shou as a Pure Land practitioner is documented, is a work designed to promote Pure Land doctrine and faith. In it, exemplary biographies are put forth to demonstrate the efficacy of faith in the Pure Land. The work criticizes the Mind-only Pure Land doctrines promoted

by Ch'an practitioners, and attacks contemporary Pure Land practitioners who emphasize salvation in an afterlife to the neglect of beneficial practices in the present world.[50] His biography appears in the chapter entitled "Records of Communion (with the Pure Land)" (kan-ying shih-chi)--one of thirty-biographies included here.[51]

Further promotion of Yen-shou as a Pure Land practitioner is closely connected with efforts in the T'ien-t'ai school to create lineages both for their own school and for the Pure Land movement. These efforts represent a reaction to the conflicting claims of Ch'an historiographers to document the correct lineage of the Ch'an school. Up until the LPWL,[52] there had been no mention of a patriarchal tradition in Pure Land, nor treatment of Pure Land as a separate, independent school. Though Yen-shou's biography is not included among those of the Pure Land patriarchs recorded, it does occupy a prominent place.[53] Yen-shou is one of only fourteen monks selected to have their biograhies included.[54]

The FTTC,[55] along with the SMCT,[56] represents the culmination of efforts by the T'ien-t'ai school to counter the claims to patriarchal lineage put forward in the Ch'an school. Both of these works are regarded as significant developments from the viewpoint of Buddhist historiography.[57] The main purpose of the FTTC is to document the lineage and record the biographies of the

patriarchs and non-patriarchal masters of the T'ien-t'ai school, but, like the SMCT, it also records biographies and masters of other Buddhist schools. In the FTTC, the tendency to regard Yen-shou as Pure Land master culminated in the recognition of Yen-shou as a Pure Land patriarch, reflecting the high status he had come to hold among the adherents of that school.

<u>The Biography of Yen-shou in the Lung-shu ching-t'u wen (LSCTW)</u>

From the outset, Yen-shou's identity as a Ch'an master (<u>ch'an-shih</u>) is made clear. His place of origin is given as Tan-yang; later he moved to Yü-hang. The most significant event of the biography recorded here is the explanation of Yen-shou's transition from official to monk.

In his capacity as a governmental official, he often took public funds in order to buy and release living things. The penalty for such a crime was death. When summoned to receive his judgment, the Prince sent a person to gauge Yen-shou's reaction. If his countenance changed, then he was to be executed. If it did not change, the person was to return and report it to the throne. When his execution was announced, Yen-shou's countenance did not change, and as a result, the Prince pardoned him and excused him from his government service. Yen-shou proceeded to become a monk.

The incident, as it is related here, has interesting parallels with earlier accounts and to the writings of Yen-shou himself. In the SKSC account above, there is an enigmatic expression: "Yen-shou's facial expression did not change". In the LSCTW, this statement is directly tied to the judgement of Yen-shou. If he reacts when the death penalty is announced, this will be interpreted as an indication of his guilt. If he does not react, this will indicate that his intentions were sincere.

In this way, in the rendition of Yen-shou's conversion from secular official to Buddhist monk recorded here, new elements have been introduced which expand and alter not only the image of Yen-shou, but also the role of the ruler. The transition here revolves, as before, around the buying of living things and setting them free, but in this instance it is in violation of Yen-shou's official capacity that he does so. Subsequently, the proscription of civil law figures prominently in the story as it is presented here. This becomes the occasion for depicting the dynamic tension between the compassionate Buddhist in the person of Yen-shou, and the prime arbitrator of secular matters, the prince.[58]

Yen-shou's own writings contain vague, yet suggestive, references to details included in the account of his transition in the LSCTW. In the <u>Wan-shan t'ung-kuei chi</u>, it is recounted how one may be severed from the

misfortunes of burning in hell and may complete the primary cause of the life of wisdom by setting fish and birds free and saving people from the death penalty with a payment.[59] This loosely parallels deeds ascribed to Yen-shou and relating to the prince's pardon in the LSCTW account. In other places in the Wan-shan t'ung-kuei chi as well, reference is made to facing the death penalty, and such things as pardoning prisoners and rescuing people facing execution are encouraged as good deeds.[60]

It is not clear what relation these details recorded in Yen-shou's Wan-shan t'ung-kuei chi have to the biographical accounts of Yen-shou's transition from an official career to that of a monk. What is clear is that in the biographies, the reason for Yen-shou's transition appears as a mystery in need of a suitable explanation. Many stories developed around this, reflecting the different orientations of the biographies. The details recorded in many of these stories, particularly the one recorded in the LSCTW, suggest that Yen-shou's own writings provided a basis around which explanations for the transition could be constructed.

After Yen-shou's pardon and his entrance into monastic life, he receives a visitation from Kuan-yin, the Bodhisattva of compassion. During ch'an contemplation (ch'an-kuan) he saw Kuan-yin (Avalokiteśvara) sprinkle his mouth with sweet dew. As a consequence, he obtained the

eloquence of Kuan-yin.

This story appears to be a further confirmation of the validity of Yen-shou's experience and the veracity of his deed by a Buddhist deity of supreme authority. The appearance of Kuan-yin is of interest for a number of reasons. Kuan-yin, as the representative of Buddhist compassion, serves to further affirm Yen-shou's sincerity and the veracity of his former deed. The sprinkling of Yen-shou's mouth with sweet dew serves to also indicate his future role as a leading Buddhist spokesman. This is confirmed in the LSCTW biography by mention of Yen-shou's role as a prolific writer. Both the Wan-shan t'ung-kuei chi and Tsung-ching lu are mentioned by name.

The appearance of Kuan-yin is also significant in connection with other aspects of Yen-shou's biography. Kuan-yin appears prominently in the Lotus Sutra, which Yen-shou was particularly fond of. The other principal scriptural basis for information regarding Kuan-yin is contained in the Sukhāvatīvyūha Sūtra (Wu-liang shou ching), one of the main scriptures advocated by those seeking rebirth in the Pure Land.[61] Thus, the appearance of Kuan-yin would serve to affirm Yen-shou's connection with the Pure Land movement. This event, which was to become a permanent feature of many later biographies, was initially recorded here.

Though Yen-shou is initially identified as a Ch'an

master in the LSCTW, the purpose of the biography is to demonstrate the influence of the Pure Land. In this regard, it is important to note that it was during Yen-shou's ch'an contemplation that the visitation by Kuan-yin occurred. Symbolically, this indicates the harmony of ch'an contemplation and Pure Land belief, but it is not a harmony of equal parts. The purpose of ch'an contemplation here stems from the benefits of faith in the Pure Land--Yen-shou's literary accomplishments are directly attributed to this act of divine intervention. Hereafter, in his daily routine of 108 practices, he assiduouosly cultivated Pure land practices. Thus, the incident involving Kuan-yin might almost be considered a "second conversion" for Yen-shou. The first was the conversion from official to monk. The second, precipitated here by the incident involving Kuan-yin, is the acceptance of Pure Land beliefs, and the impact that this had on his Buddhist practice. In this manner, the identity of Yen-shou as a Ch'an master is not denied in the LSCTW, but it is suggested that the value of his ch'an practice be understood in terms of the aims of Pure Land aspirants.

Evidence of Yen-shou stūpa worship in the LSCTW

The latter half of the record contained in the LSCTW confirms that Yen-shou's biography was rewritten by followers of Pure Land practices. Furthermore, it indicates how the new and elevated role Yen-shou has come to occupy

for Pure Land adherents is connected to the existence of a cult devoted to the worship of his stūpa. The story related here is about a monk who daily worships the stūpa of Yen-shou. When asked his reason for doing this, he replies that in a previous life, while dwelling in the underworld, he noticed the image of a monk in the corner of the palace. King Yama himself came to and prostrated himself before this image. Upon asking the caretaker of the palace about the identity of this monk that even King Yama worshipped, he is informed that this is the Ch'an master Yen-shou of Yung-ming temple. the caretaker further informs him that while the common people regularly have to pass through this place, Yen-shou, as an exception, was able to attain directly a most favourable rebirth in the Pure Land. The episode concludes with a statement to the effect that striving for the Pure Land is deemed valuable even in the underworld.

This episode is interesting in that it explains the logic whereby Yen-shou became the object of a cult that worshipped his stūpa. Earlier in the LSCTW, we saw that because Yen-shou was able to face death without fear, secular law, ajudicated by the earthly ruler, had no power over him. This theme is here reiterated more forcefully with Yama, the king of death, actually submitting to Yen-shou. That Yen-shou did not pass through the underworld, the region of death, indicates that Yen-shou did not die. Thus Yama has no power over Yen-shou, who has

conquered death utterly and completely. Having achieved this status, Yen-shou is honoured not only as an object of admiration, but assumes the role of a recipient of the supplications of others striving for rebirth in the Pure Land as well.

The Biography of Yen-shou in the Lo-pang wen-lei (LPWL)

The biography of Yen-shou in the LPWL further affirms the tendency of the LSCTW to view him as a Pure Land practitioner, and to assert his preference for Pure Land practice over ch'an contemplation. Its emphasis is on stories involving miraculous events to explain decisive changes in Yen-shou's life. Most of these miracle-events are recorded here for the first time, and are associated with Yen-shou's tenure on Mt. T'ien-t'ai, before the beginning of his actual teaching career. Versions of some of these stories were reviewed briefly earlier, in the context of their appearance in the later Ch'an inspired account of Yen-shou, the JTPC. The reason for their inclusion in the JTPC, as well as the way in which they have been recorded there, will become clearer in relation to the end for which they have been used in the LPWL account here.

As with the LSCTW, the identity of Yen-shou as a Ch'an master is not denied in the LPWL, though the emphasis is not in stressing Yen-shou's associations in this direction. Thus, along with the ordinary chronology of

events that have naturally accumulated around the life of Yen-shou, his associations with Ts'ui-yen and Te-chao are mentioned here as well. The mention, however, in both cases is brief, and the meeting with Te-chao is no longer presented as the culmination of his experience on Mt. T'ien-t'ai. In the LPWL account, Te-chao is no longer credited with occasioning or affirming Yen-shou's enlightenment, as had been the case in the early accounts, the SKSC and CTCTL, and had continued to be asserted in Ch'an sources. Here in the LPWL, it is merely asserted that through Te-chao, Yen-shou started to awaken to the essentials of the mind (hsin-yao). It is subsequent to the visit with Te-chao in the LPWL, rather than before it as in the earlier sources, that Yen-shou embarked on his ninety day period of meditation which is said to have resulted in birds nesting in his robes. The place of meditation is given differently as well. In the LPWL it is given as the cave of Chih-i rather than T'ien-chu peak. These alterations reflect the overall tendency in the LPWL account to further strengthen Yen-shou's association with Mt. T'ien-t'ai and the leading exponent of the T'ien-t'ai school, Chih-i, so as to demonstrate the precedence of Pure Land practice over ch'an contemplation in Yen-shou's life.

According to the LPWL account, the above events constitute only a prelude to the culmination of Yen-shou's experience on Mt. T'ien-t'ai. The culmination occurs

through three episodes involving divine intervention. In these three stories, Yen-shou's "conversion" to Pure Land practice is explained. This "conversion" experience constitutes the Pure Land equivalent to the enlightenment experience ascribed to Yen-shou in Ch'an accounts. The altered emphasis and arrangement of events, as well as the addition of hitherto unrecorded features of Yen-shou's life on Mt. T'ien-t'ai, must be understood with this perspective in mind.

The first of these episodes tells of an incident that supposedly occurred while Yen-shou was performing the Lotus penitential rituals[62] at Kuo-ch'ing temple. During the night, while performing the rituals, Yen-shou is said to have witnessed a god-like man enter clutching a halberd. In surprise, Yen-shou asks the intruder what authority permits him to so interrupt? In response, the intruder claims that he has come as a result of Yen-shou's long accumulation of deeds, by which Yen-shou's rebirth in the Pure Land is assured. The implication is that the intruder is a guardian deity designated to communicate that assurance.

The second episode is familiar to us from its appearance in the JTPC. The point here, however, is somewhat different. According to the LPWL, Yen-shou, while circumambulating the image of P'u-hsien (Samantabhadra) in the middle of the night, witnessed a lotus flower that had been offered to P'u-hsien suddenly appear in his hand. In

the JTPC, we are told that as a result of this Yen-shou scattered flowers as offerings throughout his life. In the LPWL, Yen-shou recalls two vows which he has made for his life. The first is to recite the Lotus Sutra throughout his life. The second is to devote his life to benefitting all varieties of sentient beings.

As a result of the above episode, we are told in the LPWL, Yen-shou yearned to carry out these two vows, but he also enjoyed the tranquility of meditation (ch'an). He became hesitant, and was unable to decide which course he should follow. Consequently, in order to resolve his dilemma, Yen-shou is said to have climbed up to the meditation hall of Chih-i (Chih-che ch'an-yuan) and written out two divination lots. On one was written: "practice ch'an-ting with singleness of purpose"; on the other: "recite sutras, perform myriad good deeds, and solemnly adorn the Pure Land". Through deep reflection, Yen-shou resolved that if there were one among these two alternate paths necessary for him to carry out, he would draw the same lot seven times in succession. After praying to the Buddhas and patriarchs, Yen-shou is said to have drawn the second lot the required seven times. Clearly, this was an indication of the divine will. Yen-shou's prayers had been answered and his dilemma resolved. In accordance with the lot he carried out sutra recitation and the myriad good deeds for rebirth in the Pure Land.

Following this decisive event, it is said that Yen-shou spread flowers on T'ien-chu peak and recited sutras for three years, as if to carry out the letter of his divinely sanctioned vow. However, Yen-shou's association with ch'an practice has not been completely forsaken. It is at this point in the LPWL biography that the story about Kuan-yin annointing Yen-shou's mouth with sweet dew during ch'an contemplation (ch'an-kuan), a story mentioned above in relation to the JTPC, appears. Though the point of the story is here the same, i.e., to assert that Yen-shou developed the eloquence of Kuan-yin as a result of this experience, none of his works is here mentioned by name. Still, the purpose of the story is to associate Yen-shou's vast scholastic and literary achievement with a divine inspiration.

The conclusion of the LPWL biography is designed with the interests of the Buddhist faithful in mind as well. Yen-shou's career on Mt. Hsüeh-tou, which figures prominently in Ch'an accounts, is mentioned only in passing here. Yen-shou's appointment to the Ling-yin ssu, a Ch'an temple, is not mentioned at all. Instead, attention is focused on his activity at the Yung-ming temple, and according to the LPWL, Yen-shou's activity here is quite different than that attributed to him in Ch'an sources. First of all, we are told that Yen-shou here performed daily his routine of one hundred and eight practices.

It is also reported in the LPWL biography that when students asked questions to Yen-shou in his capacity as the chief priest of Yung-ming temple, Yen-shou pointed to the mind as the fundamental source (tsung) and emphasized the crucialness of enlightenment. But this emphasis reflecting his ch'an thought is overshadowed by his more straightforward Pure Land practice. Each day at dusk, we are told, Yen-shou went to an isolated peak to practice ambulatory (hsing-tao) nien-fo. Those within hearing distance are said to have heard the sound of heavenly music on the mountain. Moreover, according to the LPWL, Yen-shou's Pure Land efforts did not escape the attention of earthly authorities. Prince Chung-i admired Yen-shou, saying that since ancient times no one had sought the Pure Land as fervently as him. Consequently, the prince is said to have constructed for Yen-shou a special hall for adorning and worshipping the Pure Land. In this way, the secular authority is made to figure prominently in the LPWL biography as well. It is the prince who ultimately confirms the validity of Yen-shou's experience. In the LPWL, this experience rests ultimately in Yen-shou's Pure Land practice.

<u>The Biography of Yen-shou in the Shih-men cheng-t'ung (SMCT) and the Elevation to Pure Land Patriarch in the Fo-tsu t'ung-chi (FTTC)</u>

The SMCT and the FTTC represent the culmination of T'ien-t'ai historiographers to write Buddhist history. In the case of Yen-shou, they represent a culmination of efforts to regard Yen-shou as a Pure Land master. Both works indicate the acceptance of biographical features that were recorded in earlier works of Pure Land inspiration. In the SMCT and FTTC, we see these new features become accepted in a standard form.

In the SMCT, Yen-shou's biography is included among the ranks of "Dharma Protectors" (<u>hu-fa</u>), thus furthering the debate over and ambiguity of his identity. The details of Yen-shou's life are here given most systematic treatment to date. New details are added regarding his early life. After the familiar story of Yen-shou quieting his quarreling parents as a baby, we are given a picture of Yen-shou as a diligent student. At sixteen, Yen-shou presents a poem to Prince Wu-su. At twenty-one, he is said to realize the impermanence of the world and devote himself to the <u>Lotus Sutra</u>. At thirty-four, he becomes a monk at Lung-ts'e temple. While the drama-filled account of Yen-shou's transition from official to monk is not recorded here, his life on Mt. T'ien-t'ai is fully documented, much as before in the LPWL. Of interest in the SMCT account is the list of

works cited after Kuan-yin annoints Yen-shou's mouth with sweet dew: five works in verse form (Shen-hsi an-yang pu, Fa-hua ling-tuan pu, Hua-yen kan-t'ung pu, Kuan-yin ying-hsien pu,[63] and Chin-k'ang cheng-yen pu) and the Wan-shan t'ung-kuei chi. Obviously, this list reflects the basis of Yen-shou's current esteem.

This basis is also reflected in the new use to which his career on Mt. Hsüeh-tou is put. Instead of Yen-shou the Ch'an master, the SMCT account records an image of Yen-shou the Pure Land practitioner. At night, it is said here, Yen-shou invoked (nien) the Buddha Amitabha and practiced circumambulation (hsing-tao). It is on Mt. Hsüeh-tou as well, according to the SMCT, that Yen-shou first issues forth his vow to practice his daily routine of 108 deeds. The transformation of events here is natural when one considers the gap left in Yen-shou's Pure Land image as recorded in the LPWL. Once the early association with Mt. T'ien-t'ai becomes the focal point for Yen-shou's "conversion" to Pure Land practice, the problem of Yen-shou's career on Mt. Hsüeh-tou naturally arises. To this problem, the SMCT records a solution which is compatible with the image of Yen-shou that has now developed.

The current image of Yen-shou is also confirmed through further events, recorded in the SMCT for the first time. On a rocky shore line of West Lake (in Hang-chou), Yen-shou is said to have carved images of Buddhist saints.

He is also pictured performing the Fa-hua repentance in the celebrated Lotus Hall. After being named to head the Ling-yin and Yung-ming temples, Yen-shou is named "Master of Compassion who Saves the Living". Thus, in those instances where the SMCT deviates from the previously recorded details of Yen-shou's life, it strengthens the image of Yen-shou that has developed out of Pure Land interests of the Buddhist faithful. The remainder of the SMCT biography, including non-biographical materials recorded there, coincides with an image of Yen-shou arising from these interests.

It is not until the FTTC that Yen-shou is designated as a Pure Land patriarch.[64] The details of Yen-shou's life recorded in the FTTC follow closely earlier accounts, especially the LPWL. The FTTC biography also includes the story of Yen-shou stūpa worship seen in the LSCTW. The significance of the FTTC biography of Yen-shou is not to be found in any of the details associated with his life. Rather, one need turn to the place where Chih-p'an has recorded Yen-shou's biography--among those honoured as patriarchs in the Pure Land school. In this regard, the FTTC represents the culmination of efforts by the Buddhist faithful to transform Yen-shou's identity.

Conclusion

In contrast to the image of Yen-shou that had developed in the Ch'an school, a new image of Yen-shou emerged in conjunction with the rising popularity of the

Pure Land movement. Under the influence of the aspirations of participants in this movement, many new stories and incidents became associated with Yen-shou's life. The purpose of these stories and incidents is to reveal an intrinsic relation between the character of Yen-shou and the goal of Pure Land practice. These newly recorded incidents are largely associated with Yen-shou's tenure on Mt. T'ien-t'ai, and it is in records compiled by historiographers of the T'ien-t'ai school that they are most readily asserted. Thus, one of the main features of Yen-shou's new image as practitioner of the Pure Land, is the strengthening of his association with Mt. T'ien-t'ai.

The story of Yen-shou's transition from official to monk, the crucial juncture in many earlier accounts of Yen-shou's life, is supplemented and eventually overshadowed by this series of events occurring on Mt. T'ien-t'ai. The stories which tell of these new incidents on Mt. T'ien-t'ai are told from a devotional point of view. Divine intervention is a key feature in these stories, around which the sequence of events is made to proceed. The culmination of these events comes with the clear, divinely annointed decision that Yen-shou's Pure Land practice has precedence over his fondness for ch'an contemplation. In this, the basic identity of Yen-shou is re-shaped yet again--this time clearly in favour of the Pure Land.

The LSCTW points to a possible source from which

this new image took shape. The LSCTW account of Yen-shou's life suggests that Yen-shou's stupa became the object of pilgrimage. The formation of a Yen-shou stūpa cult was based on the belief that Yen-shou, through his unique power and influence, had special access to the Pure Land, and that through intercession by Yen-shou on their behalf, believers could gain access to the Pure land as well. It is most likely that the stories asserting Yen-shou's relation to divine favour grew out of the interests of pilgrimage devotees. We might recall in this connection that Yen-shou's stūpa was originally located on Mt. T'ien-t'ai.

The culmination of Yen-shou's rising status in the Pure Land movement occurred when he was named as a patriarch of the Pure Land school in the FTTC. Despite the unanimity with which chroniclers of the T'ien-t'ai school assert the image of Yen-shou as a Pure Land practitioner, however, there is no consensus among them regarding his status as Pure Land patriarch. In fact, Yen-shou is not customarily listed as a patriarch in Pure Land documents.

The Pure Land movement had a significant impact on Yen-shou's subsequent reputation. Even a work like the JTPC, as witnessed in our discussion of later Ch'an developments of Yen-shou's biography, recorded many of the incidents in the new, Pure Land inspired influence on Yen-shou's image. This Pure Land influence has coloured our impression of the man down to the present day.

C. Conclusion: Changing Images of Yen-shou

Due to the nature of the sources for the study of Yen-shou's biography, the life of Yen-shou is shrouded in obscurity. There is no satisfactory method to remedy this situation. Furthermore, the circumstances surrounding Yen-shou's biographies are not unique. Great caution must be exercised in the reading of Chinese Buddhist biographical records. The case of Yen-shou suggests that what is recorded in these biographical records is significantly coloured by the aspirations of the contemporary Buddhist community and that the community itself generated much of the material that is recorded in them.

The writings of Yen-shou display a diversity of interests. As a doctrinalist, Yen-shou was interested in creating a syncretic harmony that encompassed a variety of philosophies and practices in the Buddhist tradition. Yen-shou tended to disregard the sectarian oppositions which the teachings of different Buddhist schools had promoted. Those sympathetic to this aspect of Yen-shou's work continued to promote it, especially as it was revealed in his _magnum opus_, the _Tsung-ching lu_. Yen-shou's diversity of interests extended beyond the domain of Buddhist doctrine. Some of his writings, particularly the _Wan-shan t'ung-kuei chi_, display a sincere interest in Buddhist practice in addition to a non-sectarian concern for Buddhist doctrine.

Judging from the list of works attributed to Yen-shou in the Tzu-hsing lu, concern for the Pure Land did not play a major role in Yen-shou's practice. The most prominent feature of this practice, judging from the titles of these works, would appear to be its diversity. The list of 108 practices engaged in by Yen-shou according to the Tzu-hsing lu also suggests that Yen-shou's practice was diverse, and that Pure Land practice was not prominent.[65] Among this diversity, the most apparent influences on Yen-shou's thought and practice derive from the Hua-yen and T'ien-t'ai schools, the most prominent Buddhist schools of the T'ang dynasty.

This situation, however, is complicated by the existence of a number of works attributed to Yen-shou, but not included among his list of works in the Tzu-hsing lu. Many of these works exhibit Yen-shou's interest in Pure Land devotion, and are especially concerned with the practice of nien-fo. These works suggest that Pure Land devotion and nien-fo practice formed a central feature of Yen-shou's devotion.

In whatever way Yen-shou and his work were valued, however, it ultimately created problems for his acceptance in the sectarian based Buddhist community. In the sources which record biograhies of Yen-shou, there is a genuine ambiguity regarding the "image" of Yen-shou promoted. In spite of his obvious importance as a major scholar and a

Buddhist leader, Yen-shou was a mixed and an amorphous figure, reflecting the confused and transitory state of Buddhism in his life time. This is reflected in the diversity of interests exhibited in his works, and accounts for the reason why his biograhical image fluctuates so widely.

In the SKSC, Yen-shou is identified as a "Promoter of Works of Merit" (hsing-fu), but his affinity with the Ch'an school is not denied. In the CTCTL, Yen-shou appears as the third patriarch, the successor of Te-chao, in the Fa-yen lineage of the Ch'an school, but his affinity for a wide variety of practices is still apparent. Thus, from the beginning, in accounts by contemporaries, there is basic disagreement over who Yen-shou essentially was.

Neither of these early attempts to type Yen-shou was very successful. Most surprising is the omission of Yen-shou's biography from the T'ien-sheng kuang-teng lu, a work devoted to the biographies of Ch'an masters written shortly after the CTCTL. The Fa-yen sect is included in this work, but Yen-shou does not appear as a patriarch or even among the ranks of Te-chao's students. The fact that Hui-hung attempted to redeem Yen-shou's tarnished Ch'an image by criticizing the way in which he was regarded in the SKSC indicates how critical the problem of Yen-shou's image had become at that time.

Another indication that Yen-shou's identity as the

third patriarch in the Fa-yen lineage failed to gain wide acceptance even in the Ch'an school is the image of Yen-shou developed in later Ch'an sources. This image disregards the issue of Ch'an sectarian lineage, and focuses on Yen-shou as a doctrinal harmonizer. His value to the Ch'an school is not based on sectarian affiliation, but rather, on his ability to transcend sectarian-based disputes, particularly as they pertain to relations between Ch'an and the doctrinally-based, scholastically-oriented Buddhist schools. This is particularly evident in Hui-hung's biography of Yen-shou in the CLSPC, and the account of Yen-shou's life in the JTPC. There is evidence to suggest that the image of Yen-shou put forth in these sources, particularly the JTPC, be viewed not as a development solely reflecting the aims of the Ch'an school. Embellishments in the account of Yen-shou's life have obvious parallel with anti-Ch'an biographies of Yen-shou, suggesting that the development may be in part a reaction to a new image of him being promoted by other elements within the Buddhist community that are not sympathetic to the Ch'an school.

The image of Yen-shou as a Pure Land devotee is in part traceable to Tsan-ning's categorization of him as a "Promoter of Works of Merit" in the SKSC. In the hands of the Pure Land movement, this aspect of Yen-shou's practice was made to focus around Yen-shou's devotion to the Pure Land. In many respects, this involved a new reconstruction

of the pertinent events in Yen-shou's life, compatible to the needs of Pure Land devotionalism and culminating in the divinely sanctioned assertion of the precedence of Pure Land over Ch'an practice. Central to this new reconstruction of events in Yen-shou's life is the role of Mt. T'ien-t'ai. Historiographers of the T'ien-t'ai school were most responsible for affirming and documenting the new image of Yen-shou as Pure Land practitioner. The culmination of this movement can be seen in the biography of Yen-shou recorded in the SMCT, and the elevation of Yen-shou to the status of patriarch in the Pure Land school in the FTTC.

Thus, Yen-shou's reputation as a leader of the Pure Land movement is a late development, and has no justifiable basis in the earliest accounts of his life. That Yen-shou engaged in a wide variety of Buddhist practices in addition to _ch'an_ contemplation is asserted from early on, but the connection of this tendency with Pure Land practices is a late development which seems to reflect more the concerns of the later Buddhist community than the life of Yen-shou itself. _Nien-fo_ practice is never encountered in accounts of Yen-shou's life until Yen-shou has been taken up to serve as a model for Pure Land devotees. The new record of incidents occurring in Pure Land inspired accounts of Yen-shou's life bear little relation to historical circumstance and are in fact stories imagined by Pure Land devotees on pilgrimage to Yen-shou's _stūpa_. The same forces

in Buddhism that were responsible for creating the Pure Land school, complete with lineage, out of a popularly based Buddhist devotional movement, produced a new image of Yen-shou as a model devotee in that movement, and ultimately honoured him as a patriarch in the Pure Land school.

Many of the biographies of Yen-shou show that as the image of Yen-shou the Ch'an master recedes, that of Yen-shou the Pure Land practitioner emerges to take its place. It was through this process, we may recall, that Yen-shou's reputation as a harmonizer of ch'an contemplation and nien-fo practice rose. On what ground does this reputation rest? Does it have any actual validity, or is it merely a fabrication resulting from the image-making process? In other words, does it have any basis in fact, or is it merely a development further reflecting the situation and aspirations of the later Buddhist community?

These are very important questions for the study of Yen-shou. The later Buddhist tradition, down to the present day, has accorded Yen-shou a high position based on his reputation as a synthesizer of ch'an meditation and Pure Land practice. We have already seen that the authenticity of most of the Pure Land based writings ascribed to Yen-shou needs to be regarded with caution. However, it is from one of Yen-shou's major works, the Wan-shan t'ung-kuei chi, that his reputation as a harmonizer of ch'an and nien-fo

essentially derives. When the contemporary Buddhist tradition speaks of Yen-shou's reputation in this regard, they almost always do so in relation to the Wan-shan t'ung-kuei chi.

In the following chapter, we will explore the suitability of this assessment of Yen-shou as a Ch'an-Pure Land synthesizer through careful exmination of the Wan-shan t'ung-kuei chi text itself. Through this examination, we will determine to what extent Yen-shou's reputation can be substantiated. Prior to this, are appendices examining Yen-shou's image as it is recorded in later Buddhist sectarian biographies and temple records, and in non-Buddhist biographies and notices.

D. CHAPTER TWO APPENDIX I

LATER BUDDHIST SECTARIAN BIOGRAPHIES

Biographies of Yen-shou compiled after the Sung dynasty, while sometimes unique in their selection and arrangement of materials, rely almost exlusively on the stock of data recorded in earlier biographies. Through examining their selection from this data, one can often determine which tradition respective biographers preferred in their reconstruction of the life of Yen-shou. For example, the compilers of Yen-shou's biography in the Lu-shan lien-tsung pao-chien (1305)[1] and the Shen-seng chuan (c. 1420)[2] obviously drew from those earlier chroniclers sympathetic to the Pure Land in their selection of materials. The former follows the Shih-men cheng-t'ung[3] to reconstruct Yen-shou's early life. It is unique in attributing the conflict which led to Yen-shou's entering the monastic life to the refusal by his parents to grant him permission to do so.[4] It borrows heavily from those episodes of Yen-shou's mounting crises and ultimate resolution concerning his allegiance to the Pure Land recorded in the Lo-pang wen-lei. It also refers to the story of "Yen-shou worship" which was recorded in the Lung-shu ching-t'u wen. The Shen-seng chuan[5] offers no account for Yen-shou's entrance into the monastic life, but is distinguishable by its almost verbatim inclusion of the Mt. T'ien-t'ai,

Kuo-ch'ing ssu episodes involving divine intervention and other subsequent materials found in the Lo-pang wen-lei. On the other hand, the biographies of Yen-shou contained in the Fo-tsu li-tai t'ung-tsai (1341)[6] and Shih-shih chi-ku lüeh (c. 1350)[7] are largely verbatim borrowings from the Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu.

The culmination of biographical writings came with the late Ming compilation by Ta-huo of the Yung-ming tao-chi (1606),[8] where the events in Yen-shou's life are recounted in thirty-two sections with accompanying verses. For the most part, it is a comprehensive synthesis and elaboration of events recorded in earlier sources. Above all, it is a tribute to Yen-shou. Through its status as an independent text and employment of edifying literary embellishment, it serves to indicate the degree to which the interest and admiration for Yen-shou had risen, as well as the extent of his influence. In this manner Yen-shou's biography was distinguished from the biograhies of other Buddhist monks, and in the Yung-ming tao-chi singled out especially as a source of inspiration for others.[9]

CHAPTER TWO APPENDIX II: TEMPLE RECORDS

Preliminary Considerations

Turning to temple records, biographies of Yen-shou appear in the records of the Szu-ming temple, the Ling-yin temple, and the Ching-tz'u temple (known as the Yung-ming temple in Yen-shou's day). It was at the Szu-ming temple (on Mt. Hsüeh-tou) that Yen-shou first became a monk. The Ling-yin and Yung-ming temples were both of some repute, and important to the government policy of the Wu Yüeh state. Yen-shou served as the chief priest of both temples at the bequest of Prince Wen-i, the ruler of Wu Yüeh. The Ling-yin temple was an old temple which had fallen into disrepair following the Hui-ch'ang suppression of the T'ang. Yen-shou's appointment to the office of the chief priest was part of a government policy to support Buddhism through the building of new temples and the reconstruction and revival of old ones.[10] After serving at Ling-yin ssu for a brief period, Yen-shou was transferred to the newly built Yung-ming temple, again at the request of the Prince. He served as chief priest there for some fifteen years, attracting the attention of the King of Korea, who sent both gifts in his honour and monks to study under him.[11]

The records of these temples themselves, while undoubtedly containing early materials, are comparatively later compilations. The record of the Szu-ming temple was

compiled by Huang Tsung-hsi (1610-1675), probably in the early Ch'ing. The record of the Ling-yin temple was published in 1888. However, it contains materials from an earlier compilation dating from the wan-li period of the Ming dynasty (1573-1619). The record of the Ching-tz'u temple was compiled by Chi-hsiang Chu-yün and published in 1805. It too contains materials from an earlier collection, the Nan-p'ing ching-tz'u ssu chih by Ta-huo dating from the t'ien-ch'i period of the Ming (1621-1627). Ta-huo, it will be recalled, was also the author of the Yung-ming tao-chi.

Temple Record Biographies of Yen-shou

The biographies of Yen-shou in these records contain little information that has not already been reviewed in connection with materials which can be dated much earlier in Buddhist collections. The brief biography of Yen-shou in the Szu-ming ssu record[12] is almost entirely derived from the CTCTL account of Yen-shou's early life and tenure at Mt. Hsüeh-tou.

The biography contained in the record of the Ling-yin temple is also relatively brief.[13] Of the information collected here, of some interest is the last line and a compiler's note appended to the biography. After the death of Yen-shou we are informed that he was cremated, and his remains formed a multi-coloured fish-scale pattern in the ground. A stupa was erected on Mt. Ta-tz'u. The

compiler's note adds that during the Wan-li period of the Ming dynasty (1573-1619) the remains were moved to the Ching-tz'u temple, in back of the Tsung-ching hall, and given the title "Stūpa of Shou-ning". This suggests that the Yen-shou stupa cult remained active during this period, and draws attention to the value with which his stūpa was regarded.[14] In addition to Yen-shou's biography, the Ling-yin ssu chih also contains a record of the deeds and activities of Yen-shou written by Hui-hung. As noted above, this record corresponds to the biography of Yen-shou contained in Hui-hung's Ch'an-lin seng-pao chuan, and has already been discussed in that context.

The biography contained in the Ching-tz'u ssu chih is fairly long.[15] It represents a composite of the information gathered in both the Ch'an and T'ien-t'ai/Pure Land biographies, and thus would seem to be a fairly late compilation, written after Yen-shou's biography had arrived at a fairly stable form. As such, it records only information already mentioned in earlier sources.

Yen-shou and the Yung-ming Temple Lineage

A compiler's note at the end of the Ching-tz'u ssu biography lists Yen-shou as the first generation abbot or chief priest of the temple. His is the second biography recorded, after that of the founder Tao-ch'ien, whom Yen-shou succeeded. Each biography is recorded in order

successively, with a note at the end indicating the generation in the lineage of chief priests/abbots that a particular biography occupies.[16] It is this arrangement which is the major contribution of the Ching-tz'u ssu chih to the development of the Yen-shou image. It indicates a strong tradition at Yung-ming ssu regarding its lineage of chief priests, and raises once again the issue of how Yen-shou is best to be regarded. Thus, in addition to being considered as a patriarch in the Fa-yen sect of Ch'an and being honoured as a Pure Land patriarch, there is evidence here that Yen-shou also held a place in the lineage of the chief priests of Yung-ming temple. Without more information on the origin and use of this system one cannot arrive at conclusions,[17] but it raises some interesting questions regarding the nature of Buddhism after the T'ang. It suggests that while the sectarian traditions of Ch'an, T'ien-t'ai, and Pure Land are still meaningful during this period, they may not be completely compatible with the new style of Buddhism which is more dependent on, and subservient to the state. One must bear in mind that Yen-shou attained the leadership of both the Ling-yin and Yung-ming temples as a result of an official request (i.e., appointment) by the reigning prince, whose desire it was to rebuild and regenerate a role for Buddhism within his state. Again, the fact that this lineage was determined by a decision of the ruler rather than a Buddhist master, leaves

no doubt regarding the usurpation by secular authority of matters spiritual. This suggests that lineages were formed in association with one's official appointment to a particular temple, in addition to traditioinal sectarian allegiance or allegiances.[18]

CHAPTER TWO APPENDIX III:
THE SECULAR IMAGE OF YEN-SHOU
(NON-BUDDHIST BIOGRAPHIES AND NOTICES)

The Image of Yen-shou in the Shih-kuo ch'un-ch'iu (SKCC)

Though the image of Yen-shou was of primary interest to those who fostered it in the Buddhist community, his biography is also found among more obviously secular records. The dates of these records are comparatively late. The Shih-kuo ch'un-ch'iu was compiled by Wu Jen-ch'en during the K'ang-hsi period of the Ch'ing dynasty (1662-1722). The biography of Yen-shou recorded there obviously relies on earlier, Buddhist accounts for its compilation.[19] Yet, while the information recorded here is already familiar to us from Buddhist sources, there is obvious emphasis on Yen-shou's "secular" accomplishments. The main flow of Yen-shou's life here is developed around his presenting a poem to Prince Wen-mo as an adolescent, later receiving pardon from him after misusing government funds to express his Buddhist compassion and culminating with the prediction verse from Te-chao regarding his special affinity with the prince and how he will in future use this to enhance the position of Buddhism. Also mentioned are his subsequent appointments to head the Ling-yin and Yung-ming temples by Prince Chung-i, as if to confirm the validity of the Te-chao prediction. Finally, to further affirm this, Yen-shou's

influence upon the King of Korea and his training thirty-six students from that country are mentioned.

What is unique about the SKCC portrait of Yen-shou is not what is recorded, but the assumptions operating in the selection of details to be included. No longer do we encounter a picture of Buddhism that is assumed to be independent of the state. The value of Yen-shou can be portrayed concretely in terms of the very real function that he performs for the state. He heads the affairs of major temples in the kingdom at the request of the head of state much like a civil minister of the state. He conducts foreign affairs with the heads of other foreign states in the manner of one in charge of that branch of government. With the picture that emerges here, the pardoning of Yen-shou for his crime and granting him permission to become a monk on the part of the King is treated as a transfer of positions in the civil service rather than a matter of removing Yen-shou from his secular duties.

A Notice concerning Yen-shou in the *Hsien-ch'un Lin-an chih*

Finally, there are secular sources which contain records of deeds or stories attributed to Yen-shou, but do not record a full biography. The *Hsien-ch'un Lin-an chih* (1265-1274) has a notice relating to Yen-shou in the information given there connected with the "Liu-ho t'a".[20]

Here we are told that the pagoda was situated on the

Yüeh-lun peak of Dragon Mountain, the site of the old Shou-ning temple. In the third year of the K'ai-pao era (971), Yen-shou initially opened the mountain, constructing a pagoda in the southern orchard of the Ch'ien family, the rulers of the Wu Yüeh kingdom. As a result, a temple was built on this site in order to quell the tides of the Ch'ien-t'ang river. Within it were stored relics of the Buddha. On occasions, a fire was ignited in the top of the pagoda so that passing boatmen might look up and guide themselves by it.

The compiler of the Ching-tz'u temple record, it should be recalled, noted that Yen-shou's own remains were moved to the back of the Ching-tz'u temple during the Ming dynasty (Wan-li period; 1573-1619), and given the title "Stūpa of Shou-ning",[21] indicating the close connection that this location eventually had with the Yen-shou stūpa cult. The reasoning for this connection is not hard to imagine. The cult of Yen-shou came to be based on the supposed power of Yen-shou's stūpa to subdue the flooding tides of the Ch'ien-t'ang river. The above Lin-an chih notice maintains that after the pagoda was destroyed, the river overflowed its embankments, engulfing both boats and boatmen.

CHAPTER III

THE MEANING OF MYRIAD GOOD DEEDS IN THE WAN-SHAN T'UNG-KUEI CHI (WSTKC)

Introduction

Of Yen-shou's works, the WSTKC is most often heralded for the Ch'an-Pure Land synthesis that it advocates. Modern Japanese works describe Yen-shou's reputation as a harmonizer of *ch'an* meditational cultivation and *nien-fo* practice largely on the basis of the WSTKC, and give a summary of the contents of the text in light of its reputation as a text promoting Ch'an and Pure Land synthesis.[1] This viewpoint has recently appeared in western scholarship, in the thesis of Shih Heng-ching entitled: *The Ch'an-Pure Land Syncretism in China: With Special Reference to Yung-ming Yen-shou*.[2] This thesis traces the interaction between Ch'an and Pure Land prior to Yen-shou, and presents the thought of Yen-shou as a watershed in the development Ch'an-Pure Land syncretism.

> The instrumental figure for the promotion and popularization of Ch'an-Pure Land syncretism is Yung-ming Yen-shou (904-975), who was an enlightened Ch'an monk and a Pure Land Practitioner....A careful study of Yung-ming's life, works and thought is necessary for a better understanding of the movement of Ch'an-Pure Land syncretism.[3]

The translation of chapter one of the WSTKC text is

presented as an appendix, as an example of Yen-shou's Ch'an-Pure Land syncretic thought.

In the present chapter, I will examine the text of the WSTKC in its entirety. Yen-shou's writing covers a wide array of topics and issues, so that a partial reading of the WSTKC might well be misleading. The question that I wish to address is the extent to which there is a consistency that holds together the wide array of issues and topics addressed by Yen-shou in the WSTKC. Furthermore, I am concerned with the extent to which such consistent features of the WSTKC conform with the traditional reading of the text that has been appropriated by modern Buddhist scholarship. In other words, to what extent is the view commonly held of the WSTKC warranted by a study of the content of the text itself?

With this end in mind, my study of the WSTKC is structured in the following manner. I will first discuss the bibliographic background of the text and the arrangement of its contents. Since much of the space of the WSTKC is devoted to material cited from other authoritative sources, I will then chart these sources as a guide that might reveal the most conscious influences on Yen-shou's thought in the WSTKC. In addition, I will identify the major issues addressed in the WSTKC and describe the common theoretical position employed in the text.

The study of Yen-shou's biographical sources revealed considerable ambiguity. Most notably, we saw that

Yen-shou's image as a Pure Land practitioner was a later development. Given this situation, one may ask the following question: what effect has the traditional image of Yen-shou as Pure Land practitioner had on the conventional assessment of the WSTKC? Is the WSTKC really so singularly devoted to the resolution of Ch'an and Pure Land conflict as the commonly held view leads us to believe, or is the text indeed a much more comprehensive one, incorporating a wide variety of concerns? The present chapter attempts to answer this question, and present a view of the WSTKC text as a whole.

A. The Background of the WSTKC Text and the Arrangement of its Contents

Details of the historical background of the WSTKC text are provided by Takase Jogen in his introduction to the Japanese translation of the WSTKC in Kokuyaku issaikyō.[4] Based on this, as well as other sources,[5] the main points may be summarized as follows.

The WSTKC text has been passed down to us in two versions, a three chüan version and a six chüan version. The contents of the two versions are actually the same--they are of equal length, differing only in the number of chüan that they are divided into. The oldest copy of the three chüan version is dateable to the fourteenth year of the Ch'eng-hua era of the Ming dynasty (1478). It is contained in the

Hoenzo edition possessed by the Zojoji temple in Tokyo. This edition is the version reproduced in the modern Taisho publication of the Buddhist canon (Taishō Shinshū daizōkyō, Tokyo 1922-33). There are several copies of a three chapter version dating from the fourth year of the Shōhō era (1647), including ones possessed by Otani University in Kyoto and Komazawa University in Tokyo.[6] The Otani University version was used to provide the variant readings for characters in the Taisho edition of the WSTKC text. Finally, there is a three chüan version in the private Abe collection. Its date is around the middle period of the Tokugawa era (1603-1867). This version served as the primary text for Takase's Kokuyaku issaikyō translation of the WSTKC.

Of the six chüan versions, the oldest one is the Northern Ming edition reproduced in the Shukusatsu-zōkyō (Tokyo Tripitaka, 1880-85). Other versions in six chüan include an undated entry of the WSTKC in the Dainihon zokuzōkyō collection.[7] Finally, a copy of the six chüan version is contained in the collected works of the Pure Land school, the Jōdoshu zensho. No bibliographic information is provided for the WSTKC text entered there.

Of the three chüan and six chüan versions of the WSTKC text, which should be regarded as the more authentic arrangement of its chapters? The earliest mention of the WSTKC by Tsan-ning in the SKSC provides no indication of the

number of chüan into which it is divided. However, in the list of Yen-shou's works given in the Tzu-hsing lu, the WSTKC is said to be a work of three chüan.[8]

In both the three and six chüan versions, the WSTKC is arranged according to sections based on an initial question and Yen-shou's answer to that question. Though the questions are Yen-shou's own, they undoubtedly reflect genuine concerns of the age. In addition to these question and answer sections, each chüan begins with an introductory statement by Yen-shou. Thus, in the three chüan version of the WSTKC, chüan one is comprised of an introduction, followed by 33 question and answer sections; chapter two of an introduction followed by 27 question and answer sections (sections 34 to 60); and chüan three of an introduction and 54 question and answer sections (sections 61 to 114). In the six chüan version of the WSTKC, each of the chapters of the three chüan version has been divided into two. Thus, chüan two of the six chüan version ends at the same point as chüan one of the three chüan version, and chüan four and six likewise end at the same point as chüan two and three, respectively.

Although both the three and six chüan versions of the WSTKC are comprised of 114 question and answer sections, there is slight variation in the way that these sections are enumerated. Section 60 of the three chapter T (Taishō) text is divided into two sections (sections 60 and 61) in the six

chapter HTC (Hsü-tsang ching) text. Likewise, question and answer section 63 of T is divided into two sections (64 and 65) in HTC. On the other hand, two sections in T (103 and 104) are combined in a single section (105) in HTC. Finally, question and answer sections 106 and 107 of T are united in a single section (107) in HTC. Other variations to note in the arrangement of the two versions are that the latter part of question and answer section 14 of T constitutes the introduction to chüan two of the HTC version. Similarly, the latter part of question and answer section 50 in T constitutes the introduction to chüan four in HTC, and the latter part of question and answer section 74 in T constitutes the introduction to chüan six in HTC.

As mentioned above, there are virtually no differences in the actual contents of any of the versions of the WSTKC that we possess. There are, however, variant readings of characters to be considered, but these variations seem to have more to do with copyists' errors and individual misunderstandings than any inherent differences between the two versions of the WSTKC text based on the division of its chapters. It has been suggested that the variant number of chüan into which the WSTKC is divided is attributable to the interests of later people who found it convenient to arrange its contents with an increased number of chapter divisions.[9] In the following discussion, I have referred to the three chapter T division unless otherwise noted.

B. Sources Cited or Referred to in the WSTKC

The method and motive set out by Yen-shou in the introduction to the Tsung-ching lu (TCL) applies to the WSTKC as well. "To detail the underlying motive of the Buddhas and Patriarchs, and what is correct and fundamental in the sūtras and treatises," Yen-shou aims, first of all, to establish what is fundamental and correct; secondly, to remove feelings of doubt through using a question and answer format; and thirdly, to substantiate his claim through citing orthodox sources.[10] As a consequence, citations from orthodox sources play an important role in Yen-shou's thought, and a considerable amount of space in the WSTKC is devoted to such citations. Yen-shou is well known for his encyclopedic knowledge of Buddhism, but his devotion to the past was not uncritical. By enumerating the sources cited and referred to by Yen-shou in the WSTKC, one can examine the formative influences on his thought.

Altogether, there are over 450 references to 150 different works and masters in the WSTKC. The following chart indicates the number of times an individual work is cited or referred to in the WSTKC.[11] Those works appearing less than three times are not listed.

Title	Count
Hua-yen ching (Avataṃsaka Sūtra)	51
Fa-hua ching (Saddharma-puṇḍarīka, or Lotus Sūtra)	29
Ta-chih-tu lun (Mahā-prajñāpāramitā śāstra	21
Wei-mo/Ching-ming ching (Vimalakīrti-nirdeśasūtra)	13
Ta nieh-p'an ching (Mahā-parinirvāṇa sūtra)	12
T'ien-t'ai chiao	10
Fa-chü ching (Dharmapada)	9
Ta-chi ching (Mahā-saṃnipāta sūtra)	9
Ch'i-hsin lun (Awakening of Faith)	7
P'an-jo ching (Saptasatika prajñā-pāramitā sūtra)	7
Chin-kang san-mei ching (Vajra-samādhi sūtra)	6
Shou-leng-yen ching (Śūraṅgama sūtra)	6
Hsien-yü ching	5
Pao-chi ching (Mahā-ratnakūṭa sūtra)	5
Ch'ün-i lun	4
Hsü kao-seng chuan (Further Biographies of Eminent Monks)	4
Ta p'an-jo ching	4
Ta pao-en ching	4
Chao-lun	3
Cheng fa-nien ching (Saddharma-smṛtyupasthāna sūtra)	3
Fan-wang ching (Brahmajāla sūtra)	3
Huan-yüan kuan	3
P'i-yu ching	3
Ch'eng wei-shih lun (Vijñapatimātratā siddhi śāstra)	3

What stands out when one glances at this list is the overwhelming importance of works valued in the Hua-yen and

T'ien-t'ai schools. What is even more surprising is the scant attention given to works valued by either Ch'an or Pure Land adherents. This is odd for a work whose reputation has largely been associated with the harmonization of these two schools. Of the works listed, only the apocryphal Chin-kang san-mei ching[12] and Huai-kan's Ch'ün-i lun[13] were of special value to Ch'an and Pure Land adherents, respectively. Furthermore, when the list of masters cited or referred to in the WSTKC text is provided, this situation does not change significantly.[14] This list can be enumerated as follows. Those who appear less than twice are not listed.

Chih-i	7	Chen-chüeh	2
Tsung-mi	5	Lao-tzu	2
Confucius	3	Niu-tou Fa-jung	2
Fa-tsang	3	Ch'an Master Man/Ching-pien	2
Hui-ssu	3	Tzu-min	2
		Seng-chao	2

Again, masters of the Hua-yen and T'ien-t'ai schools appear most prominently. With the appearance of both Tsung-mi and Fa-tsang, major masters of the Hua-yen school are represented. T'ien-t'ai is represented in references to Chih-i, Hui-ssu, and Ch'an Master Man and Ching-pien, who are mentioned together. In addition, there is a reference to the T'ien-t'ai master Chan-jan. Once again, Pure Land and Ch'an masters do not appear to be so well represented.

Among Pure Land masters, there is only Tzu-min. No other Pure Land master is singled out by name in the WSTKC. In the case of Ch'an, the situation is not so clear. Aside from the ambiguity surrounding Tsung-mi's identity and the appearance of Niu-t'ou Fa-jung and Hui-neng's student Chen (or Hsuan)-chüeh, a number of Ch'an masters names and views are cited in the WSTKC. Mentioned only once are Hui-neng, his student Hui-chung, Ch'an master Pao-chih, and students of Ma-tsu Tao-i: Nan-chuan P'u-yuan, Pai-chang Huai-hai, Layman P'ang, and Teng Yin-feng. The apparent prominence of Ch'an masters in the WSTKC should be tempered by the fact that they sometimes appear as représentatives of positions that Yen-shou either criticizes or re-interprets. What is really surprising in the case of Ch'an, is the total omission of any reference to the Yen-shou's supposed Ch'an teachers, Ts'ui-yen and Te-chao, or to the founder of the Ch'an lineage with which he is associated, Fa-yen Wen-i.

Also noticeable in the WSTKC is the mention of and reference to non-Buddhist masters. Most significant here is Confucius and Lao-tzu, although the Taoist work/master Lieh-tzu appears once in the WSTKC as well.

Given this state of affairs, and because the reputation of the WSTKC has been so closely connected with the Pure Land, one must inquire further into what this reputation is based upon. This can be accomplished by enumerating specifically all works and masters pertaining to

the Pure Land mentioned in the WSTKC.[15] These may be listed as follows.

Ch'ün-i lun by Huai-kan	4
Tzu-min	2
Ch'eng-san ching-t'u ching (Sukhāvatī-vyūha sūtra)	1
Ching-t'u san-mei ching (Sukhāvatī-samādhi sūtra)	1
Kao-sheng nien-fo san-mei pao-wang lun by Fei-hsi	1
Kuan wu-liang-shou ching (Amatāyur-dhyāna sūtra)	1
P'an-chou san-mei ching (Pratyutpanna sūtra)	1
Shang-tu i by Shan-tao	1
Shih-i lun by Chih-i	1
Ta-p'an nieh-p'an ching i-chi by Hui-yüan	1
Wang-sheng lun	1
	15

In total there are 15 references. Classic scriptures of the Pure Land school are mentioned only twice. In addition, the list contains a few other surprises. Tzu-min is regularly regarded as the formative influence on Yen-shou's Pure land thought;[16] in the WSTKC it is the Ch'ün-i lun of Huai-kan that is most frequently cited as the authority. And, along with such noted Pure Land masters as Shan-tao and Hui-yüan, there appears Chih-i of the T'ien-t'ai school and his treatise on ten doubts

concerning the Pure Land (Shih-i lun)[17].
More importantly, however, is the location of these references in the WSTKC text itself. All but three of the fifteen Pure Land references in the WSTKC are to be found in chüan one. This suggests that the WSTKC's reputation as a Pure Land text is probably based on the reading of the first chüan alone. A closer examination of the contents will bear out this assertion. Since this is the case, what is to be made of chüan two and three of the WSTKC? If the entire work is not devoted to Ch'an and Pure Land syncretism, what is to be made of the WSTKC as a whole? If the WSTKC's reputation as a work intended to blend Ch'an and Pure Land practice does not bear scrutiny, how should we interpret the message of the work taken in its entirety? What was Yen-shou's own design in writing it as he did? These questions cannot be answered simply; further analysis of the manner in which authoritative sources are referred to in the WSTKC will bring us closer to a solution.

As indicated in the case of references associated with the Pure Land movement above, specific kinds of sources are quoted together in certain portions of the WSTKC. But is it the case that these Pure Land works overshadow other references and sources cited in chüan one of the WSTKC? What are the dominant sources, if any, cited in each respective chüan of the WSTKC, and what might the use of such sources tell us about the pattern of the work as a

whole? In order to answer these questions, I charted the occurrence of most frequently cited sources in each chüan of the WSTKC. In ~~order~~ to facilitate this analysis, I grouped different sources according to kind, as was done in the case of the Pure Land sources listed above. Only the most numerous groupings of sources are accounted for here. Generally, the categories I used to group the sources cited in the WSTKC correspond to major Chinese Buddhist schools. This is possible because of the way in which the different schools rank Buddhist scriptures as well as the authorship of Chinese commentaries, and so on. In this manner, most of the sources cited in the WSTKC may be attributed to the different Chinese Buddhist schools. I have categorized the sources according to the following headings.

CT Works relating to the Pure Land (Ching-t'u 淨土), as listed above.

C Works relating to Ch'an (禪).

TT The Saddharma-pundarīka sūtra (Fa-hua ching 法華經), or works collected around it, the Nirvāṇa sutra and other works relating to masters of the T'ien-t'ai school.

HY The Avataṃsaka sūtra (Hua-yen ching 華嚴經) and works relating to it and the masters of the Hua-yen school.

PP Works from the collection of Prajñāpāramitā sūtras; including the Ta chih-tu lun, etc. Works generally associated with the Mādhyamika, or San-lun (三論) school.

WS Works relating to the Yogācāra, or Wei-shih (唯識) school.

X Non-Buddhist sources.

Based on the above classification, sources cited in respective chapters of the WSTKC may be charted as follows.

		CHÜAN		
Classification	I	II	III	Total
CT	12	2	1	15
C	7	6	4	17
TT	28*	41	18	87
HY	18	28	20	66
PP	16	20	12	48
WS	2	4	4	10
X	0	3	15	18
	83	104	74	261

(*Including Chih-i's Shih-i lun, which is also listed under CT.)

The total numbers of references to works in the designated categories further confirms some of the tendencies suggested earlier. Sources relating to the Pure Land (CT) are not cited often in the WSTKC. They are hardly cited at all outside of chapter one, and even there they are only one of several groups of works drawn from. Sources pertaining to Ch'an (C) fare no better. While reference to them is spread more evenly throughout the WSTKC, in no chapter do they constitute what might be considered a major source of reference. In relation to other groups of sources

and the total number of sources referred to, the influence of Ch'an works and figures would appear to be minimal.

Instead of Ch'an and Pure Land, there are other groups of sources that play a significant role in the makeup of the WSTKC. Most important of these are the sources related to the Fa-hua ching and the T'ien-t'ai school (TT), including the Nirvāṇa sutra, and those relating to the Hua-yen ching and the Hua-yen school (HY). Works from these two groups are cited most often and most consistently throughout the WSTKC.

In addition to the importance given to TT and HY sources in the WSTKC, other groups of sources also play significant roles. Works from the collection of Prajñāpāramitā sūtras (PP) are referred to frequently and consistently throughout the WSTKC. Furthermore, works classified as part of the canon of the Small Vehicle and not attributable to any of the principal Chinese Buddhist schools are also mentioned with considerable frequency in the WSTKC, particularly in chüan one and two.[18]

From the above chart it is apparent that Pure Land and Ch'an sources are by no means unique in the WSTKC. All of the groups of sources listed (with the possible exception of WS) can claim equal, if not better, representation in the WSTKC. Indeed, even the Nirvāṇa Sutra alone can legitimately claim equal status with Pure Land and Ch'an sources based on their respective number of appearances in

the WSTKC.[19] Certain Small Vehicle sources, namely Jātakas and sources cited from the Suttanipāta collection, can legitimately claim to have a profounder impact on the WSTKC following this criteria.

From the above chart it is also apparent that certain sources appearing frequently in one chüan do not always appear with frequency in the others. As noted above, the frequency and consistency with which sources from TT and HY are cited, and also those from PP, make these the most considerable and consistent influences on Yen-shou's thought in the WSTKC. The influence of other sources is confined more to individual chüan. Appearing less frequently than TT, HY, and PP sources, but still a significant feature of chüan one, are sources from CT (which has been noted above) and the Suttanipāta collection. In chüan two, sources from the Suttanipāta collection and the Jātakas appear frequently along with those of TT, HY, and PP. In chüan three, non-Buddhist sources are prominent, as well as those of TT, HY, and PP.

The distribution of these quotations must reflect, to some degree, the content of each of the three chüan. Issues and concerns pertaining to the Pure Land are prominent in chüan one, but have little to do with the discussions of chüan two and three. The relation between Buddhist and non-Buddhist ideology is of major concern in chüan three.

The concerns and issues of individual chūan are based upon an underlying structure inspired primariy from sources and masters of the T'ien-t'ai and Hua-yen schools, and to a lesser extent from the Prajñāpāramitā literature of the Chinese Mādhyamika (San-lun) school. This is, at least, the direction that the sources cited in the WSTKC suggest. The fundamental position and theoretical outlook of Yen-shou in the WSTKC are developed most closely in reference to these sources rather than those of Ch'an or Pure Land. In terms of Yen-shou's position on issues of practice as well, these sources, rather than Ch'an or Pure Land, are most responsible for influencing his basic conceptions. A closer examination of the issues and orientation of individual chapters in the WSTKC will bear this out.

C. The Nature of the WSTKC Text: The Relationship between the Myriad Good Deeds (wan-shan) and Their Common End (t'ung-kuei)

1. Introduction

The nature of the WSTKC text, the main purpose for which the WSTKC was written, is closely related to its title. According to the title, the WSTKC is concerned with the myriad good deeds (wan-shan) and their common end, or basis (t'ung-kuei). Thus, the nature of the WSTKC text is ostensibly connected with the meaning of these two terms and

the relationship between them. The basic idea of wan-shan t'ung-kuei is that every good deed that human beings endeavour to perform all arrive at one realm, the absolute.[20] The route to Buddhahood is diverse and allows for innumerable ways and combinations of practicing good deeds. The implication of this basic idea is to dissolve sectarian tension resulting from different emphases on practice. Wan-shan t'ung-kuei also has a more specific sense. In the Fa-hua hsüan-i, Chih-i uses wan-shan t'ung-kuei to indicate the teaching of the Fa-hua ching (Lotus sūtra).[21] Given the prominence with which Chih-i, the Fa-hua ching, and T'ien-t'ai teaching in general appear in the WSTKC, the association of this term with the teaching of the Fa-hua ching by Chih-i is important. In the WSTKC itself, there is evidence that suggests that Yen-shou was aware of Chih-i's Fa-hua hsüan-i and the association of the teaching of the Fa-hua ching with the meaning of wan-shan t'ung-kuei. In the WSTKC, Yen-shou states at one point that, "The Fa-hua (ching) combines three (vehicles) and reduces them to (kuei) one; the myriad good deeds (wan-shan) all lead to bodhi."[22] Since the Fa-hua hsüan-i is cited directly by Yen-shou in the WSTKC,[23] we know that Yen-shou was familiar with this text.

However instrumental Chih-i's use of this term may be for understanding the meaning of the WSTKC, it is apparent that Yen-shou had another conceptual structure in

mind as well when he wrote the WSTKC. The evidence for this can be seen in the abundant use of concepts and terminology from the Hua-yen school in the WSTKC text. Most prominent among these is the terminology and standpoint inherent in the Hua-yen doctrine of the relationship of li (the principle of universal or Absolute Truth) and shih (concrete particulars or phenomena), which is cited throughout the WSTKC.[24] As we shall see shortly, in the WSTKC Yen-shou has associated the meaning of wan-shan with the Hua-yen concept of shih, and the meaning of t'ung-kuei with the Hua-yen concept of li. In this way, Yen-shou has devised a conceptual structure in which T'ien-t'ai and Hua-yen doctrines complement each other. This complementary structure may be said to be the common thread running through the WSTKC.

We shall discuss in more detail below the meaning and relationship of the above mentioned terms as they are set forth in the WSTKC. As the first step in our discussion, it will be useful to examine concretely what the myriad good deeds referred to by Yen-shou in the WSTKC are.

2. The Myriad Good Deeds in the WSTKC

Yen-shou makes repeated reference to good deeds (wan-shan) in the WSTKC. The promotion of these is the real point of the treatise. The good deeds advocated by Yen-shou in the WSTKC cover a variety of activities. A survey of

these activities will reveal much of Yen-shou's intentions in the use of the term wan-shan. In order to survey these activities, I have considered them under the following headings: Buddha worship, Dharma preaching, Sutra chanting, Stupa worship, Repentance, General Buddhist practice, Contemplation, Nien-fo practice, Self-immolation practice, Temple building activities, Public works projects, Buddhist-inspired altruism, and Non-Buddhist inspired activities.

(1) Buddha worship

In the WSTKC, Yen-shou advocates adorning, worshipping, and adoration of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas. This includes such activities as worshipping the Buddhas of the ten directions with prostrations, and making offerings to them with incense and flowers. Such provisions for worship and making offering may at times include Bodhisattvas--Manjusri and the Medicine King are mentioned by name.

(2) Dharma preaching

As well as preaching the Dharma, Yen-shou advocates listening to the Dharma and promoting Dharma Assemblies (fa-hui). In addition, the WSTKC also promotes such related activities as lecturing on the great vehicle, writing treatises (lun), composing essays (wen), commenting on the

sūtras, translating and interpreting the great vehicle, explaining the meaning of the Dharma, journeying to the west to procure sūtras for translation, and generally proclaiming the virtues of Buddhism and praising the great vehicle.

(3) Sutra chanting

Sutra chanting activities include lecturing on the sutras, frequently hearing the sutras, extensive reading, regular study, and the memorizing of the sutras, in addition to chanting the sutras themselves. Related activities incude uttering gāthās in praise of the Buddhas, singing and chanting Sanskrit hymns, and the recitation of dhāraṇīs and mantras. Among those sutras to be chanted, the one especially singled out in the WSTKC is the Fa-hua ching. Throughout the WSTKC, Yen-shou urges his readers in such Fa-hua activities as: chanting the Fa-hua ching, cultivating and mastering the Fa-hua ching, listening to the Fa-hua ching, rejoicing at hearing a gāthā of the Fa-hua ching, preachiang it to others, and copying it (or getting others to copy it).

(4) Stupa worship

The WSTKC advocates the construction and maintenance of stūpas. These activities include erecting stūpas at crossroads, covering stūpas with jewels, constructing stūpas even the size of a thumb or finger, sweeping and washing old

stūpas, hanging banners from stūpa spries, circumambulating the stūpa as an act of worship, and worshipping the stūpas of bone relics themselves.

(5) Repentance

In the WSTKC, Yen-shou advocates supporting the precepts and practicing repentance. Particularly mentioned in this regard are the five kinds of repentance practiced at the six times during the day and night according to the Fa-hua samādhi of the T'ien-t'ai school. The five are: confession, putting forth requests, accompanying joy, transfer of merit, and issuing forth vows.

(6) General Buddhist practice

General Buddhist practice advocated in the WSTKC includes the pāramitās, the eightfold path, the four all-embracing virtues (loving speech, assuming the same form as sentient beings, compassion, and preaching the Dharma), the four stages of mindfulness, and the thirty-seven kinds of practice (the thirty-seven conditions favourable to enlightenment). It may also be made to include such activities mentioned in the WSTKC as establishing formal rituals, converting and saving sentient beings, defending orthodoxy and prohibiting heterodox teachers, causing others to issue forth an mind intent on bodhi, harmonizing disputes between monks, freeing others from binding attachments so

they may become monks, completing the good deeds of others, igniting wisdom-lamps, and pouring Dharma-rain; etc.

(7) Contemplation

In the WSTKC, contemplation practice is mentioned in the following contexts: gazing upon the images of Buddhist deities, and reflecting upon the teaching of emptiness. In terms of actual meditation technique, in addition to the pervasive Buddhist techniques of breath counting, tso-ch'an, and ch'an-ting, methods advocated by Yen-shou display an obvious influence from T'ien-t'ai techniques associated with chih-kuan and the practice of the four kinds of samādhi.[25]

(8) Nien-fo practice

Nien-fo (Buddha innvocation) is one of the practices advocated by Yen-shou in the WSTKC for rebirth in the Pure Land. As such, it is mentioned in conjunction with cultivating and training in contemplation practice, the doing of good deeds, transferring merit, vowing and making appeals (to be reborn in the Pure land), facing west when sitting or lying down, circumambulation, supporting the precepts, and practicing the pāramitās as means to achieve this end. Thus, nien-fo appears in several contexts in the WSTKC: in conjunction with stūpa worship and sūtra chanting, as the practice of calling out a Buddha's name during circumambulation, or the practice of envisioning the Buddha during contemplation.

(9) Self-immolation practice

One of the more unusual practices advocated in the WSTKC is that of suicide, especially by self-immolation. In the WSTKC, surrendering one's body as an act of worship may be regarded as the supreme act of almsgiving. In this regard, Yen-shou promoted and defended setting fire to one's body, arm, or finger as an act of giving alms. In particular, self-immolation is advocated as an offering to the Fa-hua ching, and as an offering to the Bodhisattva Samantabhadra: burning a finger, toe, or foot is described as an offering to a Buddha stūpa. Also connected to this is the surrendering of one's flesh to tigers, wolves, lions, and hungry ghosts, and exposing one's marrow and gouging one's body as an offering to birds and wild beasts.

(10) Temple building

In the WSTKC, Yen-shou advocates several activities associated with the construction and maintenance of buildings used in Buddhist practice, and those implements instrumental in that activity. First and foremost, this includes the building and repairing of temple buildings, storehouses and meditation rooms themselves. In addition, it includes the previously mentioned activity of constructing and maintaining stupas. It also involves the erecting and maintaining of monks' lodgings, as well as providing and caring for the monks themselves.

(11) Public works projects

Aside from temple building activities, the WSTKC also calls for participation in general public works projects. Those mentioned by Yen-shou in the WSTKC include: clearing roadways and leveling and repairing pits and holes in the road, constructing boats and rafts and setting up bridges to traverse waterways, planting flowers and trees and constructing hills for parks, building public wells and latrines along the roadside, and providing facilities, clothes, quarters and medicines needed in caring for the sick.

(12) Buddhist-inspired altruism

There are a number of activities advocated by Yen-shou in the WSTKC that appear to have been inspired out of Buddhist virtue. Incuded in such activities are: setting fish and birds free, refraining from fishing and hunting, avoiding the killing and injuring of sentient beings, rescuing people from the death penalty with a payment, releasing prisoners, welcoming those fleeing to avoid taxes and conscription, desisting from setting up defense garrisons, releasing people from commercial taxes, providing relief for the destitute and sick, comforting the orphaned and friendless, having compassion for and protecting all life, and acting to assist the refinement of humankind.

(13) Non-Buddhist inspired activities

Finally, in the WSTKC Yen-shou at times refers to virtues and activities which have no connection to Buddhism, but are inspired from non-Buddhist sources. In this regard, Yen-shou calls on his readers to practice loyalty, establish filial piety, to aid and reform the kingdom, to order and protect the household, and to respect and sustain one's father and mother. These virtues, and the activities supporting them, reveal influence from the native Chinese tradition, namely Confucianism.

Yen-shou's purpose for writing the WSTKC was to promote and advocate the myriad good deeds (wan-shan) in the manner of those listed above. A survey of these good deeds reveals three things which have an important bearing upon our discussion regarding the problem addressed in the WSTKC in its entirety, and the dominant influences on Yen-shou. First of all, nien-fo practice is only one of many activities advocated in the WSTKC. On the basis of the activities promoted, there appears to be little reason to isolate this as central to the text as a whole. The concern of the text, taken as a whole, is all of the good deeds. Secondly, the focal point around which the myriad good deeds are advocated is often connected with the Fa-hua ching and T'ien-t'ai tradition. It is the principal sūtra mentioned in connection with sūtra chanting; Dharma-lectures are to be based on it. It is the basis for repentance practice, and

figures prominently in contemplation practice as well. It provides principal inspiration for self-immolation practice, and as we shall see later, Yen-shou's nien-fo practice is based on it as well. No other scriptural tradition figures so prominently as that associated with the Fa-hua ching in Yen-shou's promotion of the myriad good deeds in the WSTKC. Thirdly, the emphasis on many forms of practice in the WSTKC reflects the changing emphasis in Buddhism during the Five Dynasties period surveyed earlier. Yen-shou is clearly trying to respond to this situation by providing a doctrinal justification to the new and emerging form of Chinese Buddhism.

It is important to note that Yen-shou's question in the WSTKC is a theoretical one: how to justify the new and diverse combination of good deeds that he promoted. This issue returns us to the problem of the relationship between the myriad good deeds and their common end.

3. The Meaning and Relationship of li and shih, t'ung-kuei and wan-shan in the WSTKC

The diversity of the myriad good deeds promoted by Yen-shou in the WSTKC did not fit well with the sectarian concerns of established Buddhist schools. Thus, the problem for Yen-shou was how to justify the inclusion of such diverse practices in one system. Previously, we noted the propensity in Yen-shou's work to justify his position

through scriptural authority. In this manner, scriptures from the Hua-yen and T'ien-t'ai traditions appear prominently throughout the WSTKC, supporting the assumption that these traditions provided the principal basis in which Yen-shou's consideration of the myriad good deeds is set. It will be useful at this point to review some of the key facets entailed in the theoretical structure that these traditions provided for the WSTKC.

The theoretical structure that Yen-shou has adopted in the WSTKC is not novel. The incorporation of terminology and concepts from the Hua-yen tradition was pervasive and well-established in Buddhist circles by this time. Fa-yen Wen-i, the founder of the Fa-yen sect of Ch'an in which Yen-shou is often included, is commonly appreciated as a synthesizer of the tenets of Hua-yen and Ch'an.[26] Furthermore, Yen-shou's concern for the myriad good deeds and the method with which many of them are to be carried out is attributable to the T'ien-t'ai tradition. T'ien-t'ai Te-chao, the successor of Wen-i in the Fa-yen lineage and the master of Yen-shou, is commonly regarded as a synthesizer of the methods and practices of T'ien-t'ai and Ch'an.[27] How do the influences from these two traditions display themselves in the WSTKC, and what is the relationship between them?

Significantly, the WSTKC begins with a statement to the effect that all good deeds (shan) are ultimately

based on (kuei) the absolute, the True Form (shih-hsiang) (i.e. the true reality of all forms, true suchness, the ultimate) of fundamental principle (tsung).[28] Thus, the notion that it is the propensity of good deeds to naturally tend toward the absolute is immediately invoked, and the prominence of T'ien-t'ai conceptions immediately evident. The point is that extensie and active practice is necessary, and that one should not cling foolishly to aimless sitting and thereby hinder true cultivation.[29] The reason for this is provided in the structure of the interaction of li and shih, notions central to the Hua-yen tradition. According to Yen-shou, "If one desires the myriad practices to uniformly prosper, one must at all costs rely on li and shih."[30] In this way, concepts from both the T'ien-t'ai and Hua-yen traditions are featured prominently from the outset of the WSTKC. How are they to be understood, and what is the relationship between them in the text?

It is a common theme in Mahayana Buddhist writings to discuss reality in terms of two levels of truths. The tainted phenomenal world of concrete particulars that is closely associated with our ordinary perception of reality is held to be distinguishable, but in reality not distinct from the pure noumenal realms of what is unalterable and true. In the Hua-yen tradition, the theory of these two levels of reality was developed and expressed in terms of

the concepts of li and shih. In the WSTKC, Yen-shou employs these concepts liberally, and in commonly accepted ways. For example,

> If one discusses li and shih; their profound intent is difficult to clarify, but if one examines them carefully, they are neither identical nor different. Therefore, the powers and functions of li, whose nature is real, and of shih, whose form is empty, are mutually interpenetrating....[31]

> ...Shih is established through li and yet shih is created without obscuring li. Li is revealed through shih, and yet li is manifested without destroying shih. When mutually supporting (hsiang-tzu), they are each established. They are mutually absorbing (hsiang-she), and are both empty. Whether obscured (as li) or manifested (as shih), they promote each other....[32]

Throughout the WSTKC, the li/shih formulation is often used in conjunction with other common Buddhist formulations. Such usage helps us determine the pervasiveness of the use of these formulations in the WSTKC, and the nuances with which Yen-shou employed the li/shih formulation. Many such nuances are provided by Yen-shou himself in his explanation of "the ten things that his treatise the WSTKC reveals." These may be listed as follows.

1. The "non-obstruction of li and shih."

2. "The combined practice of the expedient and the real." The real is, in other words, the True Reality; expedients are, in other words, the gateway of transformation.

3. "The equal decimination of the two truths," i.e.,

the Absolute Truth and the mundane, worldly truth.

4. "The harmonization of nature and form." These refer to that which is unchanging as opposed to that which adapts to conditions.

5. "The complete freedom of substance (t'i) and function (yung)." These refer to the principle (li) of Dharma-nature and the activity (shih) of responsive wisdom.

6. "The mutual realization of emptiness and existence."

7. "The combined cultivation of the primary and the assisting (practices)." These refer to primary and accompanying practices.

8. "The single reality of identity and difference." In other words, when there is identity, on account of li there is no change; when there is difference, in terms of shih there is compliance with conditions.

9. "The non-duality of cultivation and nature." Here, the original existence (pen-yu) is "nature" and the work of manifesting it is "cultivation".

10. "The non-differentiation of cause and effect."[33]

Here, Yen-shou describes different aspects of the Mahayana theory of two levels of reality that developed in Chinese Buddhist thought. As these ten aspects are provided by Yen-shou as an explanation for the theme that his treatise, the WSTKC, addresses, there is also an implied relationship between them and the key terms wan-shan and t'ung-kuei which constitute the title. For Yen-shou, the

meaning of the myriad good deeds (wan-shan) is closely connected to the meaning of shih, expedients, mundane worldly truth, form, function, existence, assisting (practices), difference, cultivation, and effect. The meaning of their common end (t'ung-kuei), the realm of the absolute, is closely associated with the counterparts to the above ten categories: li, True Reality, Absolute Truth, nature (as opposed to form), substance, emptiness, the primary (practice), identity, nature (as opposed to cultivation), and cause. These categories represent, but do not exhaust, the aspects in which the dual relationship implicit in the title of the WSTKC are discussed.

The implicit parallel between the t'ung-kuei/wan-shan dichotomy and those between such concepts as li/shih and t'i/yung, is apparent throughout the WSTKC, and forms the theoretical basis from which Yen-shou establishes his position. The promotion of the myriad good deeds (wan-shan) is dependent upon Yen-shou's use of this dichotomy. According to Yen-shou, the relationship between these two aspects of reality is one of identity, but because Buddhist practitioners insist upon stressing the li side of the equation as the real source of enlightenment, the myriad good deeds, or the shih side of the equation, have fallen into disrepute and tend to be either discarded or neglected.

It is the aim of the WSTKC to rectify this misguided state of affairs. Rather than as activities which are by

nature of the realm of illusion, Yen-shou promotes the myriad good deeds as provisions for Bodhisattvas to enter the sacred, and as methods for the Buddhas to assist the way to enlightenment.[34] The myriad good deeds all lead to bodhi, and the many practices end in all-knowing wisdom.[35] Rather than disturbances to the realm of Truth, the activity of the myriad good deeds should be regarded as manifestations of one's realization, and confirmation of enlightenment attained. In the correct relationship between theory and practice, both are awarded equal emphasis and neither is neglected at the expense of the other. The basis for this relationship is implicit in the structure of reality itself. Thus, the equal emphasis accorded theory and practice represents a reflection of the same relationship which exists between the absolute and the myriad good deeds, li and shih, and so on. This is the basic justification given by Yen-shou in his defense and promotion of the myriad good deeds in the WSTKC.

There are numerous ways in which Yen-shou's basic position regarding the activity of the myriad good deeds is drawn in the WSTKC. One instructive way likens the relationship between li and shih to the process of fashioning vessels from gold.[36] In this analogy, the original wisdom which exists in everyone is compared to the material gold. After this, two kinds of practice and cultivation are necessary in the process of refining it:

practice which cultivates li is compared to removing the brimstone; practice which cultivates shih is compared to fashioning the gold metal into a vessel. In this way, the wisdom which seeks Buddhahood is comparable to forming the gold vessel. The meaning is that in the process of attaining Buddhahood (forming the gold vessel), both li practice and shih practice are equally necessary for refining and developing the human character (removing the brimstone and fashioning gold metal).

The theoretical basis for the explanation and justification of the myriad good deeds in the WSTKC is not unique. The myriad good deeds promoted, however, particularly the combination in which they are arranged, do make the WSTKC unique. In the WSTKC, Yen-shou develops his argument for the promotion of myriad deeds by addressing himself to several topics. We shall now turn to an examination of those topics.

D. The Propensity of Myriad Good Deeds (wan-shan): Topics Discussed Extensively in the WSTKC

While much of Yen-shou's work is devoted to more theoretical and doctrinal concerns, and many of his writings are better appreciated in terms of practice and devotion, the WSTKC, of all Yen-shou's writings, best bridges these two pillars of Buddhism, and best represents Yen-shou's advocation of them both in harmonious relationship with each

other. Furthermore, Yen-shou's reputation as a harmonizer is commonly attributed to his contributions in three areas of Buddhist syncretic thought: as a harmonizer of Ch'an school practice with established Buddhist doctrine (ch'an-chiao synthesis); as a harmonizer of Ch'an and Pure Land practice (ch'an-ching synthesis); and as a harmonizer of Buddhist teaching with that of Confucianism and Taoism (san-chiao synthesis).[37] This reputation is substantiated in all three areas in the WSTKC, not just with regard to the Ch'an-Pure Land synthesis as is commonly asserted.

Yen-shou's concern for harmonizing disparate tendencies in Buddhism is set in the context of his discussion involving certain issues regarding the nature and tendency of Buddhist practice. Set in the format of questions and answers, it is usually easy to detect in the WSTKC the issues being addressed. Thus, in addition to providing a record of Yen-shou's views on specific matters of Buddhist practice, the WSTKC also offers us an insight into some of the central concerns of its time. For a detailed analysis of these concerns and Yen-shou's response to them, one must consult the text itself. At present it will suffice to provide the reader with an introductory analysis to the main issues addresed, as well as Yen-shou's response to them.

Some of the main concerns addressed in the WSTKC text, listed in the order of their appearance, are as

follows:

(1) The relationship between *ch'an* meditation and the practice of *wan-shan* (ch. 1).

(2) The relationship between *ch'an* meditation and *nien-fo* practice (ch. 1).

(3) Self-immolation (ch. 2).

(4) Conventional forms of practice (ch. 2).

(5) The relationship between Buddhist teaching and that of Confucianism and Taoism (ch. 3).

1. The Relationship between Ch'an Meditation and the Practice of Wan-shan

Much of the initial concern of the WSTKC is to impress upon the *ch'an* practitioner the necessity of practicing the myriad good deeds (*wan-shan*) as well. In the eyes of the Buddhist practitioner devoted exclusively to the method of *ch'an* meditation, cultivation of the myriad good deeds contradicts the teachings of former Ch'an patriarchs, and has no basis in Buddhist teachings or scriptures. Indeed, many of the phrases cited in defense of exclusive *ch'an* cultivation by hypothetical questioners in the WSTKC are reminiscient of the style of Ch'an that denies any need to rely on formal methods in one's practice. For example,

> 'Everything is annihilated and there is nothing to rely on'; 'The realm of objects and the wisdom of the subject are both empty,' is the fundamental teaching of the Buddhas and Patriarchs, and the essential path of sages and worthies. If one

> discusses activity, mind ('subject') and the realm of objects are left as they appear to us (rather than being 'empty'). On the basis of what textual sources of the teaching (chiao) do you extensively discourse on the myriad good deeds?[38]

The implications of the debate here are more significant than they might first appear. At issue in the discussion of the relationship between ch'an meditation and the practice of wan-shan is a traditional source of tension between many teachings of the Ch'an school and the teachings and doctrines of traditional Buddhist schools. Thus, in addressing the issue of ch'an vs. wan-shan practice, Yen-shou is redressing a central point of contention that has alienated adherents to the Ch'an school from the more formal and ritualized Buddhist practice common to adherents to traditional Buddhist schools. In this manner, the ch'an vs. wan-shan issue in the WSTKC should best be understood in the context of Yen-shou's promotion of a ch'an-chiao synthesis.

We noted earlier that Tsung-mi played a major role in promoting a ch'an-chiao synthesis over one hundred years prior to Yen-shou. Tsung-mi's synthesis had an obvious impact on that of Yen-shou. Indeed, Yen-shou's contribution here would be slight were it not for the changing nature of Buddhism at the time that Yen-shou lived. With the decline of the major doctrinally based Buddhist schools after the Hui-ch'ang suppression, the main issue of Yen-shou's day no longer centred on reconciling the meditation practice of the

Ch'an school (<u>ch'an</u>) with the doctrinal positions (<u>chiao</u>) of the major Buddhist schools. For Yen-shou in the WSTKC, doctrinal concerns remain important, but are secondary. Doctrine becomes, in the WSTKC, the means to justify the correct Buddhist position on specific issues. It is called on to arbitrate dispute rather than serve as one of the sides in the dispute. The main issue has shifted to the nature of Buddhist practice itself, namely the status of the myriad good deeds (<u>wan-shan</u>) in relation to <u>ch'an</u> meditation. Thus, in the WSTKC, Yen-shou attempts to harmonize the position of the Ch'an school regarding practice with the promotion of myriad good deeds.

What is Yen-shou's response to the objections of <u>ch'an</u> practitioners, particularly those well-supported by the widely repeated utterances of patriarchs and masters of the Southern School (in particular, the Lin-chi sect) of Ch'an? While careful not to counter the authority of masters cited to uphold the primacy of Ch'an, Yen-shou's sympathies clearly lie on the side of traditional Buddhist doctrine and the practice of myriad good deeds. In Yen-shou's view,

> Nowadays, many people place great emphasis on such nihilistic sayings as 'Not Mind, not Buddha!', 'Not <u>li</u>, not <u>shih</u>!' and consider them as profound and subtle. They do not know that they are only phrases for curing disease by cutting off indirect explanations (<u>che-ch'uan</u>). Attached to this skillful means, they deem it as their goal and,...they at once relinquish the true ground (of enlightenment),....They only trust in their shallow

superficial emotions, and do not seek the deep, hidden teaching.[39]

Instead, according to a correct appraisal of the intention of Buddhist teaching, the myriad good deeds are "provisions for Bodhisattvas to enter the sacred," and the many practices are "methods for all Buddhas to assist the way (to enlightenment)."[40] The myriad good deeds are nothing more than the inherent activity of the Bodhisattva. They are his skillful means while based in the state of freedom where nothing is to be attained; they are the transforming activities that he generates while relying on Ultimate Reality.[41] As such, they are a necessary activity for anyone who claims allegiance to the Great Vehicle.

Finally, performance of myriad good deeds reflect the two levels of reality itself. The tendency of many Buddhist practitioners to equate <u>ch'an</u> contemplation with the quest for fundamental enlightenment and the practice of <u>wan-shan</u> with engaging in inherently deluded activities was widely countered by Yen-shou in the WSTKC. Such practice would be based on erroneous dualistic notions that the realm of <u>li</u> and the realm of <u>shih</u> are separate and distinct, and that the enlightened realm of <u>li</u> can only be penetrated through <u>ch'an</u> contemplation, while the practice of <u>wan-shan</u> in the deluded realm of <u>shih</u> is only indicative of and prolongs one's ignorance. Theoretically, such a distinction

does not correspond to the intrinsic nature of the two realms; the realms of li and shih are mutually complementary, and represent two aspects of the same reality, the Dharma realm. Thus, the existence of the Absolute, the realm of li, does not contradict the myriad methods of practice amidst causes and conditions, the realm of shih.[42] Indeed, the two naturally complement each other. One is guided in one's practice (shih) by li, and perfects li by means of practice.[43] The teachings of the patriarchs make clear the relationship of mutual identity between li and shih.[44] The equal emphasis on the performance of wan-shan and ch'an at once reflects and confirms this relationship of mutual identity between these two realms. To perform otherwise, and focus exclusively on the realization of li, constitutes a biased adherence to Buddhist practice, and drowning in the river of erroneous views.[45]

2. The Relationship between Ch'an Meditation and Nien-fo Practice

Long-standing antagonism existed between Pure Land adherents and those of the Ch'an school. In the Ch'an tradition, appropriations of nien-fo practice can be seen in the teachings of Tao-hsin (580-651) and Hung-jen (601-674), the founders of the so-called East Mountain (t'ung-shan) style of Ch'an, as well as certain students of Hung-jen.[46]

However, these may be viewed as little more than reluctant concessions to rising interests by students toward Pure land teaching, as a result of the popularity of Pure Land masters Tao-ch'o (562-645) and Shan-tao (613-681) who flourished around the same time. But as the Southern School gained wide appeal within Ch'an circles, such concessions were denied. This is amply evident in the Platform Sutra (T'an-ching), the classic text establishing the teachings of the Southern School and the legitimacy of Hui-neng as heir to Hung-jen as the correct Ch'an lineage.

> The prefect bowed deeply and asked: 'I notice that some monks and laymen always invoke the Buddha Amitabha and desire to be reborn in the West. I beg of you to explain whether one can be born there or not, and thus resolve my doubts.'
>
> The Master said: 'Prefect, listen and I shall explain things for you. At Sravasti the World-honoured One preached of the Western Land in order to convert people, and it is clearly stated in the sutra, "[The Western Land] is not far." It was only for the sake of people of inferior capacity that the Buddha spoke of farness; to speak of nearness is only for those of superior attainments. Although in man there are naturally two types, in the Dharma there is no inequality. In delusion and awakening there is a difference, as may be seen in slowness and fastness of understanding. The deluded person concentrates on Buddha and wishes to be born in the other land; the awakened person makes pure his own mind.[47]

To later masters of this chool, the denial of the Pure Land as a viable goal reached the point of open contempt.

> So, by creating the Pure Land and Buddha-deeds (fo-shih), one also, in both cases, creates (demon-) karma; hence they are called Buddha-hinderances.

> Because they hinder your mind, you are subjected to the bondage of causes and conditions and propelled toward a state devoid of freedom.[48]

Within main stream Ch'an circles, the Pure Land as a goal and the methods designed to achieve it were at best relegated to the status of lower-level understanding. In this regard, Pure Land adherents were denigrated along with other Buddhists who outwardly sought after blessings through the performance of good, merit-producing deeds. In the Platform Sutra, Hui-neng claims:

> Building temples, giving alms, and making offerings are merely the practice of seeking after blessings. One cannot make merit with blessings. Merit is in the Dharma-body, not in the field of blessings....Merit is created from the mind; blessings and merit are different.[49]

Furthermore, such attitudes on the part of ch'an practitioners were not appreciated by Pure Land masters. Tz'u-min (680-749) was highly critical of the ch'an practitioners of his day who disparaged Buddhist precepts, doctrines, and good works, and instead relied exclusively on their own radical interpretation of the meaning of ch'an.[50] Tz'u-min's style, inherited by Yen-shou, incorporates ch'an meditation within a broader Buddhist context, and places it within the overall concern of the aims of Buddhist practice.

According to Tzu-min,[51] the practitioner of correct ch'an-ting acts to stimulate himself and his practice as the situation warrants it. This may be

accomplished in the following ways: by invoking the Buddha (<u>nien-fo</u>) and chanting sutras, by performing prostrations and circumambulations, by lecturing on the sutras and preaching the Dharma, and by converting sentient beings and performing the myriad practices without neglect. Indeed, this is the style of <u>ch'an-ting</u> that imitates that of the Buddha himself and is in harmony with the teachings of the Sacred One.

Thus, for Yen-shou, who clearly follows Tzu-min's position here, the harmony of <u>nien-fo</u> and <u>ch'an-ting</u> is but one aspect of his proposed harmony between the myriad good deeds and <u>ch'an</u> meditation. <u>Nien-fo</u> is nothing more than an aspect of <u>wan-shan</u>, and is best considered in the context of the larger debate in the WSTKC concerning them. It is the larger concern regarding the status of <u>wan-shan</u> practice that overshadows the narrower aspect of this concern, the status of <u>nien-fo</u> practice, rather than the other way around.

The fact that this is the case, namely, that <u>nien-fo</u> is not the major issue emerging from a reading of chapter one of the WSTKC, and that <u>nien-fo</u> is best appreciated in the context of the larger concern for <u>wan-shan</u>, is apparent from the way <u>nien-fo</u> is discussed by Yen-shou in the WSTKC itself. In the context of issues pertaining to general Pure Land practice, the scriptures of the Pure land school do not play a dominant role. For example, to the concern that mind

itself is Buddha, making it unnecessary to seek the Buddha outside the mind, Yen-shou cites the T'ien-t'ai master Chih-i in defense of his position.

> Those people who exclusively contemplate the unborn nature of phenomena only believe in the benefits of the mind, and do not believe in the benefits (provided by) the external power and protection of the Buddha.[52]

This brings us to the question of what kind of nien-fo practice did Yen-shou actually advocate in the WSTKC, and what were the main influences on the style of nien-fo that he advocated? Formal nien-fo practice for Yen-shou is based on the teaching of the fourfold samādhi of the T'ien-t'ai school.[53] This teaching makes provisions for the practice of nien-fo either while sitting in meditation (tso-ch'an), or while circumambulating the image of the Buddha. In addition, there is good indication that Yen-shou intended nien-fo recitation and contemplation to be used as an integral part of the Fa-hua repentance ritual. In the text of the Fa-hua Repentance, cited by Yen-shou, it is stated that there are two kinds of cultivation:[54] "cultivation amidst shih," which involves worshipping (li) and invoking the Buddha (nien-fo) while circumambulating (hsing-tao), and "cultivation amidst li," contemplation which recognizes the non-duality of mind and nature and shows that everything is an aspect of the mind.

In the same manner that T'ien-t'ai includes nien-fo practice in its teaching of the fourfold samadhi as a

practice harmonious with the aims of contemplation and meditation, Yen-shou views nien-fo practice as compatible with the aims of ch'an-ting. For Yen-shou, the aims of ch'an-ting are understood in terms of Buddhist ideational theory, which claims that all realms of existence are creations of Mind-only (wei-hsin). Nien-fo is analogous to what Mind-only creates;[55] the Pure Land of Mind-only (wei-hsin ching-t'u) is the creation of the store-consciousness.[56] Thus, what is created through the cultivation of Pure Land practice is analogous to any existence that Mind-only creates.

In this way, Yen-shou is able to emphasize the positive function of the mind which, of its nature, is able to create provisional existence. Though provisional and ultimately unreal, a Pure Land thus created is of positive value in the quest for enlightenment. As a state of existence, it is neither more nor less real than the external condition of the physical world. As such, it can be utilized in a similar manner to further the aim of Buddhism. This is not to suggest, however, that the existence of the Pure Land be taken literally. Yen-shou is quite explicit in stating that in reference to the fundamental absolute, one should never suggest that Buddhas and Buddha lands actually exist, much less talk about arriving there.[57] The existence of the Pure Land represents a provisional existence for the assistance of sentient beings

in their quest for enlightenment. As such, it represents a skillful means, as is the case with the practice of wan-shan generally in the WSTKC.

> When contemplation is shallow and the mind wanders, sense-objects overpowering and the force of habit oppressive, one needs to be reborn in the Pure Land. By relying on the excellent circumstances there the power of endurance is easily attained, and one quickly practices the way of Bodhisattvas.[58]

Ch'an cultivation (ch'an-ting, tso-ch'an, chih-kuan, kuan-hsin, etc.) constitutes the cornerstone of traditional Buddhist practice. It aims at enlightenment in this life through the realization that all objects are but manifestations of mind. With this realization, the practitioner aims to curb or extinguish his mind's manifesting power, thus emptying himself of mind-objects, and nullifying the causes and conditions which life and death (i.e., saṃsāra) depend on. It is the cultivation of this realization that breeds enlightenemnt, wisdom, and eventually Buddhahood.

For Yen-shou, the cultivation of wan-shan operates within the same set of assumptions, but utilizes them in different, somewhat contrary ways. Nien-fo practice represents a concrete expression of wan-shan cultivation. Instead of suppressing the manifesting power of the mind, the practitioner is encouraged to utilize it to create those causes and conditions which will result in favourable circumstances (i.e., the Pure Land or some other Buddha

land) in one's next incarnation. These circumstances are designed to assure one's salvation in the next life. The Pure Land, then, is none other than the favourable circumstances created by the manifesting power of one's own mind in this life.

By stressing the positive function of the Mind rather than curbing its manifesting power, Yen-shou is able to supply a structure that supports the activity of the myriad good deeds and validates practices designed for attaining birth in the Pure Land. In doing so, he tends to regard provisional existence in a very positive and meaningful way despite its essential provisionality.

The theoretical basis for the relationship between <u>ch'an-ting</u> and <u>nien-fo</u> and sutra recitation is stated by Yen-shou in terms of the silence of meditation and the sound of recitation, motion (<u>tung</u>) and tranquility (<u>ching</u>), words and silence.[59] The point here is again the same as for the relationship between <u>ch'an-ting</u> and <u>wan-shan</u>. These do not represent a duality, but complimentary aspects of the same reality. In the words of Yen-shou, "How can one deny one and emphasize the other, and seek the Truth while disregarding form?"[60] "Sound is the repository of all meaning, and all words are the gateway to liberation."[61] Motion and tranquility derive from a common source.[62] Conditioned activities in the realm of <u>shih</u> are complimentary and harmonious with the unoonditioned realm of

li. The sound of recitation and the silence of meditation, the activity of wan-shan and the tranquility of ch'an-ting, when cultivated together with equal emphasis, reflect the harmony and equilibrium between these two realms.

3. The Issue of Self-Immolation

After chapter one, nien-fo and Pure Land practice are seldom mentioned in the WSTKC. At the outset of chapter two, concern quickly turns to issues associated with the practice of self-immolation. For Yen-shou, the practice of immolating either part or all of oneself, or otherwise offering one's body as an act of Buddhist devotion or compassion, is a praiseworthy activity if done under proper circumstances, and to be encouraged.

The position of suicide in Buddhist teaching is characterized by a certain degree of ambiguity. Sometimes condemned and sometimes tolerated in early Buddhism, it had a kind of scriptural validity in later Buddhism with the appearance of the Fa-hua ching.[63] The ambiguity is further maintained in the Chinese tradition. Hui-chiao and Tao-hsüan, authors of the KSC and HKSC respectively, are of the opinion that although suicide is wrong from the point of view of the monastic rules, it is admirable if one takes into account the sentiment and courage of the doer.[64] Though qualified, their acceptance of this activity is apparent from the fact that "suicide" (wang-shen or i-shen)

is included among the categories by which a monk may achieve eminence.

By the tenth century, self-immolation, or the practice of sacrificing an arm or a finger, seems to have become widespread. Tsan-ning, author of the SKSC, recorded a much higher number of monks engaging in this activity during the tenth century than for any other period.[65] Though motivation is varied, the scriptures of Pure Land Buddhism, in addition to the _Fa-hua ching_, inspired monks to suicide as an act of supreme devotion.[66] And as the practice gained wider acceptance, it tended to become more staunchly defended. Tsan-ning was of the opinion that as far as desiring death for purposes of rebirth is concerned, the destruction of one's body is fruitful.[67]

Yen-shou's own position on the issue of self-immolation practice is harmonious with that of his contemporary, Tsan-ning. To the objection that practices such as igniting a finger or setting fire to the body are denounced by the _vinaya_ rules of the small vehicle and criticized in the records of eminent monks, Yen-shou responds,

> When one relinquishes the body (_wang-shen_) or terminates one's life in order to reciprocate the kindness (_en_) of the Dharma, one is in subtle accord with the great vehicle and in deep harmony with the correct teaching.[68]

For Yen-shou, surrendering one's body is justifiable as an act of almsgiving, one of the _pāramitās_ of Bodhisattva

practice. As Yen-shou explains,[69] there are two kinds of almsgiving: inward almsgiving and outward almsgiving; the dāna of li and the dāna of shih. The implication is that ordinary almsgiving is outward, the dāna of shih, and that sacrificing one's body constitutes inward almsgiving, the dāna of li, which according to the essential teaching of the Buddhas is "foremost", and "greatly emphasized."[70]

> In other words, one knows that clever speech and frivolous words are easily uttered, (but) the valuable treasure of one's entire body is difficult to sacrifice.[71]

Furthermore, for Yen-shou the practice of surrendering one's body imitates, rather than opposes, the example of Buddhas and eminent monks who surrendered innumerable physical lives by offering their bodies to hawks, feeding their bodies to tigers, and so on.[72]

The crucial criteria for determining whether such activities as self-immolation and surrendering one's body are justifiable rests in the attitude and understanding of the practitioner at the time the act is committed. If one's act is accompanied by sincerity and devotion to the three treasures; if it is based on the illumination of wisdom, it serves as a means to exchange one's mortal body for an immortal one, and is certainly superior to meaningless births and senseless deaths in the world.[73] Thus, when approached with proper sincerity and devotion, the surrendering of one's body becomes the occasion of great

liberation.

Theoretically, surrendering oneself in such a manner is viewed in terms of the interplay between prajñā-wisdom and skillful means. When prajñā-wisdom is without skillful means, one drowns in the pit of non-activity; when skillful means are without prajñā-wisdom, one falls into the net of illusory change. When the two are not obstructed, the way of oneness has nothing lacking; only when expediencies and the truth are practiced as a pair, is the fundamental source of reality (tsung) revealed.[74] It is in this regard that self-immolation is viewed as the epitomy of enlightenment itself, an act in which prajñā-wisdom and the realm of li are perfectly fused with skillful means and the realm of shih--an act which dramatically represents the perfect harmony characteristic of the enlightened state. Thus, it is an activity that is praiseworthy as an expression of the enlightened, but one that must be denigrated when abused by the ignorant.

4. Conventional Forms of Practice

The position of formal Buddhist cultivation and practice in the Ch'an tradition was at best an ambiguous one. Influential masters of the Ch'an school had long claimed that "there is no Buddha, no Dharma, nothing to practice, nothing to prove,"[75] and insisted that Ch'an realization was an internal affair of the individual and had

nothing to do with outward seeking.

> ...as to Buddha-dharma, no effort is necessary. You have only to be ordinary with nothing to do--defecating, urinating, putting on clothes, eating food, and lying down when tired....
> A man of old said:
> To make work on the outside
> Is just being a blockhead.
> Just make yourself master of every situation, and wherever you stand is the true (place).[76]

Positions such as this one tended to undermine the validity of conventional forms of Buddhist practice and the material objects--sutras, images, and so on--which accompanied this practice.

Theoretically, this Ch'an position was based on a denial of the distinction between the realm of the sacred and the secular. The paradox of the *nirvāṇa-saṃsāra*, enlightenment-delusion paradigm constitutes the fundamental problem of Mahayana Buddhism. The problem issues from an insistence upon identifying *saṃsāra* with *nirvāṇa* from a theoretical standpoint, against the need to differentiate the two from a practical one. The assertion that one inherently possesses the enlightened nature of a Buddha is bound to the identification of the two realms; the legitimacy and efficacy of Buddhist directed activity and cultivation is dependent upon their difference. The tendency of the Ch'an school was to take the identification of *nirvāṇa* and *saṃsāra*, the sacred and the secular, seriously, and to extend the implications of this position into the arena of Buddhist practice.

The implications of the identification of the sacred and the secular were drawn in radical ways by the Ch'an school. The tendency of the Ch'an school in medieval China was to radically affirm the significance of the world of concrete particulars, and emphasize a definition of meditation that stripped it of its formal character and expanded it to something more akin to a mode of being in the world at large, devoid of any overt Buddhist context or content governing it.[77] In traditional Buddhist practice, Buddha-nature was understood in terms of scriptural authority, and the path to salvation involved activities undertaken at the direction of Buddhist temples and institutions. To <u>ch'an</u> practitioners, these established Buddhist supports were not only deemed superfluous to the enlightenment quest, they actually constituted obstructions to it. Practices aimed at rebirth in the Pure Land, for instance, are karma producing activities and Buddha-hinderances. They obstruct the mind, and drag one back into the unliberated state.[78] Thus, in essence, the realization of one's Buddha-nature has nothing to do with the "outward seeking" characteristics of conventional Buddhist practice. Instead, Buddha-nature is a matter of individual discernment rather than anything like textual study or institutional practice. Buddha-nature, the highest truth, is devoid of anything objective whatsoever; it must be discovered individually; it is perfect and complete just

as it is, and nothing need be added to it.[79]

Numerous questions raised in chüan two of the WSTKC presume the position of the Ch'an school outlined above. While not denying the Ch'an tendency to affirm the world of concrete particulars, Yen-shou is quite sensitive to the dangers involved in an individualized view of the Buddhist path devoid of the conventional framework to govern one's practice.

> If one conceives views by complying with words, constructs liberation by arranging letters, forgets the point (of the teaching) by grasping at explanations (of the teaching), confuses the mind by pursuing the teaching, and if the finger and the moon are not discriminated, then it is difficult to see (self-) nature. (But) if one awakens to the Way by relying on speech, understands fundamental principle (tsung) by depending on the teaching, and deeply investigates the meaning of the Buddha through the entrance to the Truth and perfection of explanations, then one realizes the treasure storehouse by frequent hearing, and accumulated learning is considered as the sea of wisdom. Entering the sacred from the common in every case depends on the power of "dark learning". To obtain calm while residing in danger, one exhaustively supports the meritorious deeds of wonderous wisdom. Words constitute the ascending stages for entering the Way. Teachings are regulations for explaining what is correct....[80]

For Yen-shou, the position of Southern School Ch'an represented a way for destroying the outward seeking of people who failed to recognize the Buddha-nature in oneself.[81] However, in Yen-shou's case, this position does not imply the denial of formal Buddhist practices. The dual character of the Perfect Teaching allows for such things as recitation and chanting as well. The ranking

Bodhisattva listens to the Dharma without loathing; by hearing it, he gains the power for assisting contemplation; and by studying it, he attains the effects of all-knowing wisdom.[82] Thus rather than denying the efficacy of the traditional forms of Buddhist practice, Yen-shou asserts that it is through these that one's real Buddha-nature is awakened.

> ...when one adorns the place of practice (tao-ch'ang) by scattering flowers and making offerings, one completely creates the conditions and cause of bodhi, and the correct practice for becoming a Buddha.[83]

For Yen-shou, Buddhist practice has more to do with sincerity than with spontaneity. In other words, instead of revealing Buddha-nature in the world through the highly individualistic and idiosyncratic behaviour that characterized many Southern School Ch'an masters, Yen-shou seeks salvation within the more easily recognizable aims and formal practices of the tradition as a whole. Truth, for Yen-shou, is less bound to a personal experience resulting from a search for enlightenment in unique circumstances, and more closely associated with a personal experience framed by sincere and devoted performance of traditional Buddhist practices.

As a consequence of this basic position, readers of the WSTKC are encouraged to institute a number of projects designed to promote formal Buddhist practice. These include building and repairing Buddhist temples, monasteries, and

places where Buddhism is practiced; the erecting of stūpas and casting of large bells; and copying and engraving the Buddhist canon.[84] The merit that such activities produce extends far beyond the individual. It does not stop with the salvation of other individuals as such, but extends even to the public realm viewed in the widest possible sense.

> When the Buddhist Way has long flourished, as external results (wai-kan), rains are accommodating and winds favourable, households are tranquil and the country at peace; as internal rewards, the Way thrives and stains perish, effects are fulfilled and causes perfected.[85]

Furthermore, this tendency in Yen-shou's thought is revealed in his support for public welfare projects: road-building, creating parks and roadside facilities, erecting hospitals and facilities for the sick, and so on. These activities extend the responsibility of the Buddhist practitioner beyond the traditional domain of the practice hall, and relate the activity of his good deeds to the welfare of the world at large.

5. The Relationship between Buddhist Teaching and that of Confucianism and Taoism

Within Buddhism, syncretic tendencies among the various Buddhist schools were apparent in the T'ang, where leaders of the main branches of the tradition advocated basic harmonies and stressed common elements between their teachings. Thus, the Oxhead sect of Ch'an and the T'ien-t'ai school maintained close relations; similarities

between the mantric features of the Esoteric school and Pure Land nien-fo practice were stresed; and Hua-yen and Ch'an masters began to show considerable interest in each other's teachings.[86] In particular, the syncretic tendency became an important feature of the Ch'an movement. Motivated as it was by a reaction to the prevalent Buddhist schools and their doctrines and canonical texts, it was susceptible to a wide array of ideas which it bridged together to form the tenets of the Ch'an school.[87] As an extension of this, it was also from the Ch'an school that syncretic tendencies emerged to encompass major schools of thought of the non-Buddhist, indigenous Chinese tradition. The leading figure to exhibit this tendency was Tsung-mi (780-841), whose work "On the Original Nature of Man" (Yüan jen lun),[88] was written to counter the claims of his contemporary Han Yü, whose views were expressed in an essay of the same title as well as in one entitled, "On the Tao" (Yüan tao).

It was through the efforts of such noteworthies as Han Yü (768-824) and Li Ao (fl. 798) that the nature and direction of a Confucian resurgence was first defined.[89] Part of this definition involved a severe attack on Buddhism, based on its being non-Chinese ("no more than a cult of the barbarian peoples"), subversive of public morality ("our old ways [will] be corrupted, our customs violated"), and superstitious ("How then, when he [the

Buddha] has long been dead, could his rotten bones...be rightly admitted to the palace?").[90] Taoism, on the other hand, had throughout the T'ang vied with Buddhism for the favours of the emperor and the influential. However, as it became clear that the intellectual domination which Buddhism had enjoyed was suffering, the Taoist threat loomed more seriously as well.

Chapter Three of the WSTKC continues to develop earlier themes and issues, but the unique concern addressed by Yen-shou here involves the incorporation of good deeds completed under the authority of non-Buddhist teaching into the Buddhist arena of <u>wan-shan</u>.

In addition to the syncretism of Buddhist schools and practices, <u>chüan</u> three of the WSTKC addresses the issue of how to assess non-Buddhist teachings, Confucianism and Taoism. A question in the WSTKC points out that since Lao-tzu also expounded the gateway of practice, and Confucius greatly enhanced the inducements for doing good, why be biased in praising the teaching of the Buddha alone?

> As for Lao-tzu, he destroyed sageliness, and abolished wisdom. He embraced the One, and kept to the feminine. He considered the pure void, and tranquil quietude to be chief. To strive for good and detest evil constitutes his teaching. Recompense exists in the span of a single lifetime, and supports only the life of a single body....Its meaning contradicts the Way which impartially saves others, and it is without blessings and benefits.

> As for Confucius, he practiced loyalty (chung) and established filial piety (hsiao). He elucidated virtue (te), and imparted humanity (jen). (But) he only spread worldly good, and was not able to forget words and liberate the spirit. Thus, his is not great enlightenment. Consequently, Confucius replied to Chi-lu: "Life inaugurates the service of man. You do not even know this. Death inaugurates demons and spirits. How is one able to serve them?"[91]
>
> These two teachings above have yet to transcend the pillars of the mundane (worldly truth), and still are limited to the cage of dust. How are they able to penetrate the subtle fundamental principle (hsüan-tsung) of the Dharma-realm, and convey wonderous practices which are unlimited?[92]

Thus, while Yen-shou recognizes that the teachings of Lao-tzu and Confucious have merit, he considers both as inferior to the subtle fundamental principle of the Dharma-realm taught by Buddhism. More specifically, Yen-shou points to the worldly limitations in Lao-tzu's and Confucius' general understanding.

The fact that Confucian and Taoist teaching is ultimately inferior to that of Buddhism, however, does not deter Yen-shou from demonstrating the basis for fundamental harmony between them. According to Yen-shou,

> Our former ancestors who were Confucianists and Taoists all were Bodhisattvas who assisted, promoted, and equally praised the Buddha-vehicle.... One clearly knows that from the past to the present, all those who possess benefits among men are Bodhisattvas who have been secretly transformed.[93]

In this manner, Yen-shou shows how the teachings of Lao-tzu and Confucius are subsumed under a Buddhist context. They represent, as it were, a phase engineered by

Bodhisattvas in the guise of Lao-tzu and Confucius in preparation for the arrival of the actual teachings of the Buddha. As such, not only do they present no possible threat to the supremacy of Buddhist teaching, they fit comfortably into a grand design based on a hierarchy ordained by Buddhist doctrine. Furthermore, and perhaps most importantly, Yen-shou here indicates the basis for harmony rather than conflict between Buddhism and the non-Buddhist tradition. Through this harmony, the values cherished in the teachings of the Chinese tradition may be legitimately accepted as congruous with Buddhist teaching.

> Consequently, the Buddha-Dharma is comparable to the sea--there is nothing whatsoever that it does not contain. An <u>li</u> is similar to the sky--one can enter it from any gate. The various philosphers in the remote depths encounter the Dharma-realm, and the thousand sages associate with and base themselves on it. The Absolute (Truth) and the mundane (worldly truth) are implemented with respect to their arranged (hierarchical) order; foolishness and the wisdom shine forth in unison.
>
> When initiating the mundane worldly truth, in other words, one encourages subjects with loyalty; encourages sons with filial piety; encourages the country with imperial decrees; and encourages households with harmony. To spread good, one makes known the bliss of heaven. To chastise wrongdoing, one reveals the pain of hell. Not only is the "One (Teaching)" (i.e. Buddhism) considered as praiseworthy. How could one encourage (the observation of) the precepts by eliminating the five punishments?
>
> When propagating the Absolute Truth, affirmation and negation are both eliminated; the subject and object are both empty. One apprehends the myriad phenomena as One Truth, and bases (the teaching of) the three vehicles on the Perfect Ultimate. If not for the arranged order of the two truths, how could the

"hundred schools" be incorporated?[94]

In the context of the WSTKC, the implication is that the good deeds promoted and encouraged by Confucian and Taoist teaching may be equally included with those encouraged by Buddhist teaching as constituting true <u>wan-shan</u>. According to the hierarchical arrangement of the two truths in Buddhism, every good deed, regardless of its inspiration, is equally praiseworthy. This applies to good deeds encouraged by teachings of the non-Buddhist, Chinese tradition.

E. Conclusion: The Meaning of Myriad practices in the <u>Wan-shan t'ung-kuei chi</u>

The central theme of the WSTKC is not a simple synthesis of Ch'an and Pure Land. This may be counted as a sub-theme of the text, but this like other sub-themes addressed in the WSTKC should be understood in terms of the overriding theme of the WSTKC as a whole. In the WSTKC, Yen-shou's primary concern is the promotion of myriad good deeds (<u>wan-shan</u>); and to provide doctrinal, authoritative justification for them. The need for such justification can probably be best understood in the context of the changing nature of Chinese Buddhism during the Five Dynasties period. The title of the work itself suggests this concern for the promotion of <u>wan-shan</u> through the implied relationship between the myriad good deeds (<u>wan-shan</u>) and

their common end (t'ung-kuei). This relationship is representative of such standard Buddhist doctrinal formulatioins as the two levels of truth of Mahayana (more specifically Madhyamika or San-lun) which asserts the existence of truth on an Absolute level and a mundane worldly level, and the two interdependent realms of li and shih of the Hua-yen school.

The real inspiration for the encouragement of the practice of myriad good deeds, however, is derived from the position of the T'ien-t'ai school. The meaning and orientation of the phrase wan-shan t'ung-kuei is based on its usage in texts of the T'ien-t'ai school, most notably the Fa-hua hsüan-i of Chih-i. The meaning and intention of the WSTKC text, likewise, is based on this earlier useage.

Individual practices promoted in the WSTKC should be understood within the context of the myriad good deeds. These deeds may be classified under the following headings: Buddha worship, Dharma preaching, Sutra chanting, Stupa worship, Repentance, General Buddhist practice, Ch'an contemplation, Nien-fo Practice, Self-immolation practice, Temple building activities, Public works projects, Buddhist-inspired altruism, and Non-Buddhist inspired activities. Like the other activities promoted in the WSTKC, ch'an-ting and nien-fo are to be understood within the context of the myriad good deeds. There is no reason to suggest that these particular practices override others in

importance.

It is reasonable to assume that there is a connection between the traditional assessment of the WSTKC in terms of Ch'an and Pure Land synthesis, and the rewriting of Yen-shou's biographical image in Pure Land inspired sources discussed earlier. Yen-shou's biography was rewritten by biographers sympathetic to the Pure Land movement, wishing to make Yen-shou into a Pure Land practitioner. This was a comparatively late development. It would be reasonable to assume that the reading of the WSTKC almost exclusively in terms of Ch'an-Pure Land synthesis was another aspect of the same development.

Today, such a reading of the WSTKC is difficult to sustain. We know that the development of Pure Land as a school is late and not belonging to the time in which Yen-shou himself lived, and that the scriptures prized in the Pure Land school appear infrequently in the WSTKC. A notion of the Pure Land not directly tied to that of the Pure Land school, but one derived from the position of the Fa-hua ching and the T'ien-t'ai school, more accurately represents the WSTKC conception.

In his recognition of the validity and compatibility of all known schools of thought and practice of his day, Yen-shou's thought in the WSTKC invites comparison with that of Tsung-mi, whose aim was much the same. In Tsung-mi's synthesis, the issues of Buddhist practice focus exclusively

on ch'an contemplation, suggesting that the Buddhist practice of his day was quite uniform in its basic orientation. By the time of Yen-shou, over a century later, the situation of Buddhist practice had become more varied and complex. The situation of Buddhism in Yen-shou's day was much more ambiguous; the survival of the T'ang Buddhist schools was questionable, and their ability to direct and define Buddhism had been severely undermined. the nature of Buddhist practice in the Five Dynasties period had become much more complex. Thus, the main issue of Yen-shou's day no longer centred primarily on reconciling the meditation practice of the Ch'an movement with the doctrinal positions of the major T'ang Buddhist schools. In the WSTKC, doctrine is called on to arbitrate dispute rather than serve as one of the sides in the dispute. It represents the means to achieve harmony rather than one of the disputed aspects of the issue to be harmonized. The issue itself has shifted more to the side of Buddhist practice, how it is to be undertaken and what is its meaning. At stake is the extent to which the practice of myriad good deeds should be incorporated into the Buddhist path, the quest for enlightenment. Thus, Yen-shou's synthesis of wan-shan and Buddhist doctrine (chiao) extends far beyond that of Tsung-mi in his concern for establishing ch'an in terms of chiao.

Finally, the ambiguity of Buddhist doctrine and

practice in the Five Dynasties period is reflected in the WSTKC. The direction of Buddhist practice is unclear--all Buddhist practice should be promoted. The status of the Chinese Buddhist establishment is unclear--the memory of the great T'ang Buddhist tradition remains, even without the influence of their institutions. In the end, Yen-shou's synthesis in the WSTKC is necessarily ambiguous as well. For theoretical justification, the influence of the past Buddhist tradition prevails; this aspect of Yen-shou's work clearly belongs in the tradition of those massters who preceded him. In Yen-shou's promotion of the combined practice of myriad good deeds, we see clear indication of the style of Buddhism that will prevail in the future.

CONCLUSION

The importance of the harmonizing tendency in Yung-ming Yen-shou's thought has long been recognized. The significance of this tendency has traditionally been conceived in terms of the synthesis of Ch'an and Pure Land doctrine and practice. The basis for this conception rests in the biographical records of Yen-shou, and the interpretation of one of his major works, the Wan-shan t'ung-kuei chi (WSTKC) ("Treatise on the Common End of Myriad Good Deeds").

In the previous three chapters, I have shown that such an appraisal of Yen-shou and his WSTKC is simplistic. The period of the "Five Dynasties and Ten Kingdoms", in which Yen-shou lived, was a chaotic period in Chinese history. Many aspects of Chinese society, including its central institutions, were called into question and forced to seek a renewed basis for survival. The institutions of the Chinese Buddhist establishment were also forced to confront this crisis. As a result, the nature of Chinese Buddhism began to change; new forces and hitherto peripheral practices and activities began to compete for centre stage. This change is reflected in the shifting patterns of categories of eminent monks as recorded in the three

kao-seng chuan collections, particularly in the SKSC of Tsan-ning. Ultimately, the nature of Buddhism during this period is quite complex. Yen-shou's writing in the WSTKC reflects this complexity, as do the repeated attempts in the Chinese Buddhist tradition to come to terms with the nature of Yen-shou's basic identity.

As has been demonstrated, Yen-shou's biographies in fact reflect the history of the later Buddhist tradition. The aspirations of the later communities determined the nature of Yen-shou's basic identity; these same individual communities were responsible for generating stories about Yen-shou suitable to their own purpose. In this regard, Yen-shou's association with Mt. T'ien-t'ai and the traditions of the T'ien-t'ai school proved instrumental. The elevation in status of the Pure Land movement and the establishment of the Pure Land sect with an established lineage of masters, was largely the work of later T'ien-t'ai historiographers. In other words, the making of Yen-shou into a Pure Land master and the forming of his image as a Ch'an-Pure Land synthesizer were relatively late developments historically. None of the earliest chroniclers of Yen-shou's biography, those who knew of him personally, indicate that Yen-shou had any special interest in Pure Land practices or Ch'an-Pure Land synthesis. The records show that Yen-shou's association with the Pure Land and his identity as a Pure Land master developed strictly in

accordance with the aspirations of later Pure Land adherents.

As has also been demonstrated, the text most often cited in connection with Yen-shou's reputation as a Ch'an-Pure Land synthesizer, the WSTKC, has traditionally been interpreted from a narrow, biased perspective. Only this narrow sectarian reading of the text confirms the reputation that Buddhist adherents sympathetic to the Pure Land had accorded Yen-shou. A critical examination of the text shows that such a reading does not bear scrutiny. While there is some justification for reading chüan one of the WSTKC in this way, chüan two and three have virtually nothing to say on the subject of the synthesis of Ch'an and Pure Land.

In interpreting the text, one must look elsewhere for suitable criteria to evaluate the meaning of its contents. Thus, the meaning of the text is best understood within the context of its times, the Five Dynasties period and the changing nature of Buddhist practice, rather than the concerns that the later Buddhist tradition has accorded it. The aim of the text is to promote the practice of myriad good deeds (wan-shan), and to provide appropriate justification for such promotion. The method used relies heavily on established Buddhist doctrine and scriptural authority to substantiate both the theoretical justification for the practice of myriad good deeds, and the legitimate

authorization of individual practices promoted. In the WSTKC, theoretical justification for the practice of myriad good deeds, and the legitimate authorization of individual practices promoted, are conceived in terms of the Mahayana theory of two interpenetrating levels of reality. The established Buddhist doctrines relied on and the scriptural authority referred to are those central to the T'ien-t'ai and Hua-yen traditions of Chinese Buddhism. The doctrines and scriptures central to these traditions are the most numerous and consistent authorities referred to by Yen-shou throughout the WSTKC. These, rather than the doctrines and scriptures of Ch'an and Pure Land, are the principal influences on Yen-shou's thought in the WSTKC.

Yen-shou's promotion of the combined cultivation of ch'an meditation and nien-fo practice in the WSTKC should thus be understood in terms of the overall aim of the text and the main influences upon Yen-shou's thought displayed in it. In terms of the actual practices promoted in the WSTKC, Buddha-worship, Dharma-preaching, Sutra-chanting, Self-Immolation, and so on, including nien-fo practice and ch'an contemplation, the teachings of the T'ien-t'ai school play the most dominant role in their promotion. This connection is best viewed in terms of specific influences upon Yen-shou's life, and the revival of T'ien-t'ai teaching and the re-emergence of Mt. T'ien-t'ai as a major centre of Buddhism during Yen-shou's lifetime.

Finally, the meaning of Yen-shou's promotion of Buddhist practice, to be understood correctly, should be understood in terms of earlier attempts to reconcile the practice of Buddhism with Buddhist doctrinal theory. Over one hundred years prior to Yen-shou and before the Hui-ch'ang suppression that ended the dominance of the established T'ang Buddhist schools, the practice of <u>ch'an</u> contemplation flourished outside of the direction of the Buddhist establishment. As the movement became increasingly widespread, Tsung-mi endeavoured to provide a theoretical justification that would incorporate the practices of the then ill-defined Ch'an movement. In Tsung-mi's day, it was possible to provide this justification by reconciling the practices of the Ch'an movement with the doctrinal teachings of the established T'ang schools. During the time in which Yen-shou lived, changes in Buddhism necessitated a revision of the Buddhist synthesis of Tsung-mi.

<u>Ch'an</u> contemplation alone no longer served as the primary practice of Chinese Buddhism. A variety of other practices flourished, and their status increased. In the WSTKC, Yen-shou acknowledges the current richness of Buddhist practice, and attempts to provide a framework in which the practice of myriad good deeds may be legitimately encouraged. In his promotion of myriad practices, Yen-shou stresses their legitimacy in terms of the Mahayana Buddhist theory of the two levels of truth. Individual practices are

justified in accordance with Buddhist doctrine.

A translation of selected passages from the WSTKC may be found in Appendix I, following. The origins of sources cited in the WSTKC are listed in Appendix II, following Appendix I.

APPENDIX I

SELECTED PASSAGES FROM THE WAN-SHAN T'UNG-KUEI CHI

('Treatise on the Common End of the Myriad Good Deeds')

CHAPTER I

Introduction*

[T 48, p. 958a-c]

All good deeds (shan) are (ultimately) based on (kuei) the True Form (shih-hsiang) of fundamental principle (tsung).[1] Like space, it surrounds and encompasses everything; like the earth, it generates and creates everything. Therefore, if one accords with Absolute Suchness (i-ju),[2] one possesses all virtues. Moreover, the myriad practices are constantly engendered without disturbing the Realm of Truth (chen-chi). The Dharma realm (fa-chieh) is permanently manifested without destroying that which is born of causes (yuan-sheng).[3] Tranquility does not obstruct activity; the Mundane Truth does not oppose the Absolute Truth. Existence and non-existence are uniformly contemplated; they are of a single reality and indistinguishable.[4]

*(Notes to the translated passages appear at the end of the Appendix.)

Thus, the myriad phenomena are Mind-only (wei-hsin), and one must extensively practice all the pāramitās.[5] One should not cling foolishly to aimless sitting (in meditation) and thereby hinder true cultivation.

If one desires to let the myriad practices uniformly prosper, one must at all costs rely on li and shih.[6] When li and shih are free from obstruction, the Way itself consists therein; subsequently one will obtain (the circumstances where) oneself and others are both benefitted, and perfect compassion toward all beings who are of the same substance:[7] everything is included and one performs practices without limit.[8]

If one discusses li and shih, their profound intent is difficult to clarify, but if one examines them carefully, they are neither identical nor different. Therefore, the powers and functions of li, whose nature is real, and of shih, whose form is empty, are mutually interpenetrating and simultaneously present and absent.

Substance, pervading everywhere, is undifferentiated; its traces, having subject and object, appear differentiated.[9] Shih is established through li, and yet shih is created without obscuring li. Li is revealed through shih, and yet li is manifested without destroying shih. When mutually supporting (hsiang-tzu), they are each established. They are mutually absorbing (hsiang-she), and are both empty.[10] Whether obscured (as li) or manifested

(as shih), they promote each other. Free from obstruction, they uniformly appear. Even though they are not identical with each other nor negate each other (hsiang-fei hsiang-to), they are neither existing nor empty. Even though they are mutually identified and mutually generated (hsiang-chi hsiang-ch'eng),[11] they are neither eternal nor annihilated.

If one examines li in isolation of shih, one falls into the foolishness of śrāvakas;[12] and if one practices shih in isolation of li, it is the same as the attachment of common people. One should know that, apart from li there is no shih--water entirely is waves; apart from shih there is no li--waves entirely are water.[13] Li itself is not shih; the motion (of waves) and wetness (of water) are dissimilar. Shih itself is not li; subject and object are differentiated. Without li and shih, the Absolute truth and the mundane truth both perish. With both li and shih, the two truths are permanently established.[14] When the pair are illuminated in images, these images are provisional, and they exist as illusions exist. When the pair are concealed, they are empty; they are indistinct and the dream-world (of illusion) disappears.[15] Neither empty nor provisional, the Middle Way is constantly clear and does not disturb causes and conditions.[16] How can it lack the substance of li?[17]

Therefore bodhisattvas, while based in the state of

freedom where nothing is to be attained,[18] perform skillful means; while involved in existence, do not oppose emptiness; while relying on Ultimate Reality (<u>shih-chi</u>), generate gateways of transformation (<u>hua-men</u>);[19] and while walking in Absolute Truth, do not obstruct the Mundane Truth. They constantly ignite the torch of wisdom, and do not extinguish the light of the mind. Like clouds they spread the teaching of compassion; like waves they promote the sea of practices. Accordingly, they are the same as dust[20] and free from obstruction; spontaneously free and in accord with conditions; all their practices are none other than Buddhist activities (<u>fo-shih</u>).

Thus, the <u>P'an-jo Ching</u> says:

> Absolute Mind[21] is replete with myriad practices.[22]

The <u>Hua-yen Ching</u> says:

> The elder, Enlightened, told Shan-ts'ai (Sudhana), "If I desire to see the Buddha Amitabha in the World of Peace and Happiness, I can see Him as I wish, and so on with other Buddhas. All the Buddhas of the ten directions that I see are all results of my own-mind. Son of good family, you should know that a Bodhisattva cultivates the dharmas of all Buddhas, purifies the lands of all Buddhas, acquires expertise in wonderous practices, restrains (the mind) and converts sentient beings,[23] issues forth great vows (to save them). All these things without exception are the result of (what he cultivates with) his own-mind. On account of this, son of good family, you should assist your own-mind by means of good dharmas; you should refreshen your own-mind by means of the (cleansing) water of the Dharma; you should purify your own-mind by means of the realm of objects;[24] you should strengthen your own-mind by means of vigourous practices; you should sharply clarify your own-mind by means of wisdom; you should

develop your own-mind by means of the unrestricted power of the Buddha;[25] you should expand your own-mind by means of the equanimity of a Buddha; you should clearly examine your own-mind by means of the ten powers of a Buddha."[26]

An old master[27] commented:

> "The mind encompasses myriad dharmas." This means that not only does contemplating a Buddha with single thought[28] result from one's own mind, the myriad practices of Bodhisattvas and the substance and function of Buddhahood also are not apart from the mind, and this statement also removes the faults of deluded attachments.[29]
>
> It is said:[30] "The myriad dharmas are nothing but mind, and allowing it (the mind) to reign free is the Buddha. Is it not useless exertion, to hurry oneself chasing the myriad practices?"

I now clarify that although the mind is none other than Buddha, it has long been concealed by the dust of mental afflictions.[31] Therefore, I increasingly cultivate it (the mind) with the myriad practices and make it clear and lucid. It is only stated that the myriad practices are based on Mind. It is not stated that it is correct not to cultivate. Furthermore, since the myriad dharmas are none other than the mind, how can cultivation obstruct the mind?

QUESTION AND ANSWER

Section 1

[T 48, pp. 958c-959a]

Question: A patriarch said: "When things are not judged as good or evil, one naturally gains entrance to the substance of the mind (hsin-t'i)."[1]

The Nieh-p'an ching says: "All conditioned things (hsing) are impermanent. This is the law of birth and death."[2]

Why recommend cultivation which intentionally contradicts the teaching of the patriarch?

Answer: The meaning of the patriarch[3] is based on fundamental principle (tsung). The words of the teaching (chiao) sunder attachments. In the Sudden Teaching of the Ch'an school, one eliminates form and is free from conditioned existence (li-yuan), emptiness and existence together perish, and substance and function are both tranquil.[4] In the Perfect Teaching of Hua-yen,[5] one is endowed with all virtues at the same time, li and practice are uniformly set forth, and compassion and wisdom support each other. Consequently, when Wen-shu (Manjusri) approves practice with li, the principle of distinction is not lacking; and when Fu-hsien (Samantabhadra)[6] adorns li with practice, the teaching of the fundamental is not forsaken.

The root and branches are a single reality; common people and Sacred Ones are of the same source.[7] Without destroying the Mundane (i.e. Worldly Truth), (Bodhisattvas) indicate the Absolute (Truth); without being isolated from the Absolute Truth, they establish the Mundane Truth. Being endowed with an eye of wisdom, they do not sink into birth and death; by generating a mind of compassion, they do not adhere to nirvāṇa. They consider the existence of the three worlds as the function of bodhi;[8] and placed in the sea of illusions, move freely in the ferry of nirvāṇa.[9]

Myriad good deeds (wan-shan) are the provisions for Bodhisattvas to enter the sacred; the many practices are the methods for all Buddhas to assist the way (to enlightenment). If one has eyes but no feet, how can one reach the pure, refreshing pond?[10] If one attains what is real but forgets what is expedient, how can one ascend to the region of complete freedom? Consequently, skillful means and prajñā constantly assist each other; true emptiness and wonderous existence[11] always constitute and support each other. The Fa-hua (ching) (Lotus Sūtra) combines the three (vehicles) and reduces them to (kuei)[12] one; the myriad good deeds (wan-shan) all lead to bodhi. The Ta-p'in (Prajñāpāramitā-sūtra in 25,000 lines),[13] teaches that everything is non-dual, and the many practices are reduced to (kuei) all-knowing wisdom.[14]
Thus the Hua-yen ching says:

> At the seventh stage, 'proceeding far', (a Bodhisattva) should cultivate the ten various excellent ways of the wisdom of skillful means. These are: 1) although he skillfully cultivates the (three) samadhis of emptiness, formlessness, and desirelessness, he is still compassionate and does not abandon sentient beings; 2) although he attains the teaching of equanimity of all the Buddhas, he still enjoys constantly making offerings to the Buddhas; 3) although he enters the gate of wisdom by contemplating emptiness, he still diligently accumulates blessings and virtues; 4) although he is far removed from the three worlds, he still adorns the three worlds; 5) although he has completely extinguished the flames of all illusions, he still is able to generate and extinguish the flames of the illusions of greed, anger, and stuipidity for the sake of all sentient beings; 6) although he knows that all dharmas are like illusions or like dreams, like shadows and like echoes, like flames or like phantoms, like the moon in the water, like reflections in a mirror, and that their self-nature is non-dual, he still acts[15] in accordance with the mind and its innumerable distinctions; 7) although he knows that all lands are just like empty space, he still is able to adorn Buddha-lands with pure, wonderous practice; 8) although he knows that the Dharma-body of all Buddhas is in its original nature without body, he adorns their bodies with special marks;[16] 9) although he knows that the voices of all Buddhas are by nature empty, tranquil and ineffable, he still is able to comply with all sentient beings and utter all variety of distinct, pure sound; 10) although he still complies with all Buddhas,[17] and fully realizes that the three ages (the past, present, and future) are only of a single thought, he complies with the conceived distinctions of sentient beings, and he cultivates all practices in all varieties of forms, on all varieties of occasions, and in various numbers of kalpas.[18]

The Wei-mo ching says:

> Although a Bodhisattva practices in emptiness, he still plants the roots of many virtues--this is Bodhisattva practice. Although he practices formlessness, he still delivers sentient beings--this is Bodhisattva practice. Although he practices "not doing", he still appears in reborn bodies--this is Bodhisattva practice. Although he practices non-arising, he still gives rise to all good

practices--this is Bodhisattva practice.

According to an old master:

> Question: The myriad practices all are only "no thought".[20] Now, when one sees good and sees evil, by desiring to free oneself (from evil), and desiring to perform (the good), thus exhausting both one's body and mind. How on earth can this be the Way?
>
> Answer: If one thus frees oneself from thought[21] and tries to seek "no thought", one will never attain true "no thought". How can one who has not attained "no thought" think (the thought of) "no thought", and still be free from obstruction? Furthermore, "no thought" is only one example of practice. How can one know (in this way) sudden perfection in "one thought"?[22]

As it has been quoted, the teaching of the Buddha shines clearly. How can one have a high-mind but an empty stomach which can be satisfied with limited accomplishment? I wish to compare this with a frog's dislike of the vastness of the ocean or a firefly that tries to outshine the sun?

QUESTION AND ANSWER

Section 6

[T 48-2017, p. 960b-c]

Question: The Dharma-body (fa-sheng) of the Tathagata is serene and pure. Since all sentient beings are covered by alien dust, it (the Dharma-body) cannot manifest itself. If now, one only refrains from becoming entangled in conditions, the still water of meditation (ting-shui)[1] becomes pure. Why does one need many good deeds? Turning outwardly to dash about, and turning one's back on true cultivation, only creates exhaustion and worry.

Answer: The tranquil manifestation of "no-mind" (wu-hsin) --this is the cause of realization. Solemn adornment (chuang-yen) with blessed virtues (fu-te) are the necessary corollary of conditioned arising (yuan-ch'i).[2] When equipped with both (these) causes, the substance of Buddhahood (fo-t'i) becomes complete. All the Great Vehicle sutras record this in detail.

The Ching-ming ching says:

> The Buddha-body (fo-sheng) itself is the Dharma-body (fa-sheng). It is born from wisdom of immeasurable meritorious virtue; it is born from compassion and joyful renunciation; it is born from almsgiving, supporting the precepts, enduring disgrace amiably, diligent practice and spiritual progress, ch'an-ting liberation and samādhi, and often listening to wisdom, the various pāramitās....From severing all evil dharmas and accumulating all good dharmas, the Tathagata-body is born (ju-lai sheng).[3]

It (the Ching-ming ching) also says:

> Because the Bodhisattva is endowed with blessed virtues, he does not abide in the 'unconditioned' (wu-wei). Because he is endowed with wisdom, he does not exhaust the 'conditioned' (yu-wei).[4] Because of great compassion, he does not abide in the 'unconditioned'. Because he fulfills his original vow (to save all beings), he does not exhaust the 'conditioned'.[5]

This (way of thinking of yours) then, by turning its back on the Perfect Teaching and not following the words of the Buddha, tries to seize the chains of nirvāṇa[6] and desires to drown in the pit of liberation.[7] If one desires to seek the flower and fruit of bodhi by planting a lotus blossom on a high plateau or planting orange seeds[8] in the sky, how can one succeed? Therefore, I say that those who enter the (so-called) true rank of "the unconditioned", do not exhibit the Truth of the Buddha at all! To illustrate further, if one does not submerge oneself in the vast sea, one cannot obtain the priceless treasure-pearl. In this manner, if one does not enter into the great sea of illusion, then one cannot obtain the treasure of complete wisdom.

QUESTION AND ANSWER

Section 10

[T 48, p. 961a-b]

Question: Everything that comes into contact with the eyes is in the state of bodhi,[1] and whatever one comes into contact with with the feet is the Way. Why must one separately establish a place for concrete practice (shih-hsiang tao-ch'ang)[2] to enslave one's thought and to wear out one's body? How can this be in harmony with the subtle meaning (of Buddhism)?

Answer: There are two kinds of places for practice (tao-ch'ang). The first is the place for the practice of li. The second is the place for the practice of shih. The place for the practice of li pervades worlds as innumerable as grains of dust (ch'a-ch'en). The place for the practice of shih is a well adorned (yen-shih) pure place (ching-ti).[3] Nevertheless, one manifests li by depending on shih, and completes shih by relying on li. Since shih, being void (hsü), is in full possession of li, there is no shih which is not li. Since li, being real, responds to conditions, there is no li which obstructs shih. Therefore, to illuminate li in terms of shih, one must provisionally (practice) adornment (chuang-yen); to enter the Absolute Truth from the Mundane Truth, one exclusively relies on these established

adornments.[4] This is the foundation for worship and adoration (kuei-ching), and constitutes the method for encouraging others (ts'e-fa).[5] When one adorns the mind by gazing at form, oneself and others are both benefitted (tzu-t'a chien-li).

The (Mo-ho) chih-kuan says:

> In the mind of the beginning practitioner of the Perfect Teaching (yuan-chiao),[6] even if the contemplation of li is penetrating, Dharma-endurance (fa-jen)[7] has yet to be completed; one must adorn and construct a place for practice (tao-ch'ang) in a pure place (ching-ti). Six times during the day and night one should perform the five repentances,[8] and confess crimes committed with the six senses. Upon entering the practice of contemplation, they progress quickly in the teaching and the precepts (ch'eng-chieh)[9] and li and shih are free from flaw. The majesty, protection, truth, and illumination of all the Buddhas suddenly issues forth. Having at once arrived at the initial stage of practice (ch'u-chu),[10] the stages for one's life-long progress are thus arranged.[11]

The Shang-tu i says:

> For those who take refuge in the three treasures, it is necessary to point to the western direction and erect the form of Amitabha (shih-fang li-hsiang),[12] and to apprehend the realm of objects by fixing the mind (chu-hsin); they do not illuminate "freedom from form" (wu-hsiang) and "freedom from thought" (li-nien). The Buddha beforehand knew that common people cannot even concentrate their minds, so how can they be (expected to be) free from form (li-hsiang)? It would be similar to people without special skills (i.e. supernatural powers) living in the sky and building a house.
>
> By depending on the three-fold contemplation of the Buddha's treasure image (pao-hsiang)[13] and so on, one certainly will be beyond doubt. The Buddha said: "After my passing into nirvāṇa, the image which one is able to contemplate is not different from me."[14]

The Ta chih-tu lun states:

> Bodhisattvas never weary of three activities: (1) they never weary of making offerings to the Buddha, (2) they never weary of listening to the Dharma, (3) they never weary of providing offerings for the Saṅgha.

According to Chih-che, master of the T'ien-t'ai school,

> Question: In the world, there are practitioners of emptiness that, in their ignorance, are attached to emptiness (ch'ih-k'ung)[16] and do not accord with what the sutras teach. Upon hearing of this 'contemplating mind' (kuan-hsin),[17] they denounce it saying (the following) if one contemplates that the mind is equal to the Dharma-body, everything that one comes into contact with must equally be the Dharma-body. Why do they treat sutras and images of the Buddha with respect and paper and wood with disrespect? Because respect and disrespect are different, there is inequality. And because of the inequality, the principle of the Dharma-body is not established.
>
> Answer: I only wish to reveal the True Form (of all dharmas) by contemplating this form from the standpoint of common people and nothing more. Venerating the sutras and images of the Buddha causes the unfettering of wisdom. Making innumerable people revere good and cast off evil causes the unfettering of expedient means. How can it be the same as what you claim?[18]

So, if one promotes Dharma assemblies (fa-hui), extensively, establishes formal rituals (t'an-yi), ascertains the benevolent protection of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas with the hands (shou-chüeh chia-ch'ih), and adorns these excellent activities (sheng-shih), as a result one obtains enlightenment (hsien-cheng) in one's place of practice, and the majesty and protection of all Buddhas.[19] These are all things that the Great Sacred One has conferred by his

compassion. Thus he indicated the essential rituals: some gaze upon the form of incense and flowers, and the virtues of following the precepts (chieh-te)[20] are esteemed for their purity; some look upon the body of P'u-hsien (Samantabhadra), and the sources of sinfulness are completely cleansed.

Because of this, Buddhist practice (fa-shih) is perfectly arranged, and the Buddhist Way has long flourished. (Thus), when one exhibits these miraculous workings, the trustworthiness of their effects have been well-substantiated (?). On the basis of this, one must abide by what has been laid down by past sacred ones to verify which activities (shih) the canon has stipulated. One must not trust in the void (hsü) and out of some personal idea demolish virtues (te) and destroy good deeds (shan), in turn falling into evil transmigrations. By denying existence and being absorbed in emptiness, one throws oneself into an evil net to no avail.

QUESTION AND ANSWER

Section 15

[T 48, p. 963a-b]

Question: The sutras only praise that cultivation and practice which is in accordance with Buddhist teaching[1]--deeply understanding the purport of its doctrines, diligently seeking "no-thought," and tacitly harmonizing with its profound source. Why encourage cultivation that widely promotes chanting?

Answer: In terms of the most perfectly endowed (shang-shang-yüan ken), their great capacity is pure and mature, and they are free of any hinderance whatsoever. They understand suddenly, and cultivate suddenly. If deluded thoughts do not arise, why avail oneself of those practices which assist the Way (chu-tao)?[2]

Generally speaking, very fine disturbances in thought disappear only in the rank of Buddhahood.

Thus, the preface of the An-p'an shou-i ching says:

> In the time that it takes to snap the fingers, the mind changes nine hundred and sixty times. In one day and one night, (there are) one billion three-hundred million thoughts. Each thought contains one body but the mind does not itself know it: it is comparable to the farmers planting seeds, (not knowing the amount of product they will reap from them).[3]

Hence, one knows that defilements of the senses hinder seriously, and total purification is truly difficult.

If one does not institute the assistance of the myriad good deeds (wan-shan), one's own power (tzu-li) in all probability will become stagnant. But, in terms of good conduct which produces blessings (fu-yeh), wherever the mind is active (p'ien-hsing men) adorn the myriad practices without the exception of even a single dharma; with every one of them one is able to perform that practice which assists the Way (chu-tao), and manifest great bodhi. By completing the ten kinds of offerings (shih-chung shou-ch'ih), one in addition is freed from any obstruction whatsoever.

The Fa-hua ching says:[4]

> At that time, innumerable Bodhisattva-mahasattvas equal in number to the dust-particles of a thousand worlds issued forth from the earth, and all in front of the Buddha with one-mind (i-hsin) joined hands, looked reverently at the face of the (world-)honoured one and addressed the Buddha, saying: "World-honoured one, after the parinirvāṇa of the Buddha,[5] in those lands wherein are the emanations of the World-honoured one, in those places of his parinirvāṇa, we will widely preach this sutra. For what reason? (Because) we also wish to gain this truly pure, Great Dharma for ourselves, to support it, to recite it, to expound it, to copy it, and to make offerings to it."

Thereby, one knows that even Bodhisattvas who have advanced through the Bodhisattva stages do not only expound (this sutra) for the sake of others, but also issue forth vows to recite and support it. How can it be that beginning practitioners (ch'u-hsin) should not accept it? They should initially seek entrance to enlightenment by faith

(hsin-chieh wu-ju), and afterwards, practice in accordance with the teaching of the Buddha (ju-shuo erh hsing). By performing with their mouths and contemplating with their minds, they assist in instituting correct wisdom. If one has yet to master the meaning of fundamental principle (tsung), but nevertheless follows the words (of the teaching), even though one does not personally understand them, one is still permeated by the root of their goodness. The power of prajña secretly aids both beginners and advanced practitioners. While situated in the correct teaching, even the slightest thoughts which emerge, in each and every case, are the initial causes (of enlightenment); never a single one is rejected.

QUESTION AND ANSWER

Section 34

[T 48, p. 969b-c]

Question: The body is the origin of the Way (i.e. the basis of religious practice); and bondage is the cause of release. How can one ignite a finger or set fire to the body, (and thus) cultivate the Way by turning one's back to the Way?[1] Within the Kao-seng chuan, and amongst the vinaya rules of the small vehicle, it is clearly denounced. How can you make it fit the canon of the Sacred One?

Answer: When one relinquishes the body (wang-shen) or terminates one's life in order to reciprocate the kindness (en) of the Dharma, one is in subtle accord with the great vehicle and in deep harmony with the correct teaching.

The Ta-ch'eng fan-wang ching says:

> If a son of the Buddha should practice with a mind of goodness, he should first of all study the conduct, scriptures, and vinaya rules of the great vehicle, and extensively understand their meaning. Afterwards, seeing that there are novice Bodhisattvas coming from a hundred li or (even) a thousand li to investigate the scriptures and vinaya rules of the great vehicle, he should, in accordance with the Dharma, preach for their behalf all the practices of austerities (k'u-hsing), such as setting fire to the body, setting fire to an arm, or setting fire to a finger. If they do not provide offering to the Buddhas by setting fire to the body, arm, or finger, they are not Bodhisattvas who have renounced the householder's life. And to hungry tigers, wolves, and lions, and to all hungry ghosts, one should surrender the flesh, hands, and feet of one's body, and present them as offerings. Then, afterwards, to

each and every one, in sequence, one preaches the True Law for their behalf, and makes their minds begin to understand. If one does not do like this, one commits a minor offence (of the vinaya rules).[2]

The Ta-ch'eng shou-leng-yen ching says:

The Buddha told Ananda: 'If after I pass away, there is a bhiksu who conceives the idea and is determined to cultivate samadhi, and in front of an image of the Tathagata is able to personally ignite a torch, burn a joint of one finger, or burn a stick of incense on one's body, I say that the unrequitted debts from the beginningless pasts of this person will be completely repayed in a single instant. He will forever take leave from the world, and eternally escape all outflows (lou).[3] Even though he has yet to understand the path of supreme enlightenment, this person has already fixed his mind on the Dharma. If one does not carry out this symbolic renunciation of the body, even if one achieves the state transcending conditions (wu-wei), one will have to be reborn as a human being and repay previous karmic debts--exactly as in the case where the person had to eat horse-straw to repay his previous karmic debts'.[4]

Consequently, the small vehicle grasps forms, and lays down rules instead of opening up understanding. The teaching of the great (vehicle) is comprehensive and open, and essentially free of fixed laws.

The P'u-sa shan-chieh ching says:

The precepts of the sravaka are urgent matters; those of the Bodhisattva are flexible. The precepts of the sravaka block one; those of the Bodhisattvas open one up.[5]

In addition, the (above?) sutra says:

The upholding of a precept by a sravaka is the breaking of a precept by the Bodhisattva.[6]

This is what it means. If one relies on sutras that reveal the whole truth, all the Buddhas are delighted

and approve. If one adheres to sutras spoken according to the capacities of the audiences, the Sacred Ones lament and disapprove.[7] One should only esteem the great (vehicle) and honour the perfect (teaching), and oneself and others will both be benefitted. How can one tolerate grasping expediencies, adhering to the small (vehicle), and being confused by both the origin (pen) and its traces (i)?

QUESTION AND ANSWER

Section 50

[T 48, pp. 975b-976b]

Question: Why isn't the Dharma of Oneness suddenly awakened to and the myriad practices naturally perfected, instead of going the long way around on a gradual route and striving exhaustively after trivial good deeds? In the Ch'an school, when a single thought (i-nien) does not arise, a particle of dust does not appear. If you rush after flaming water, and compete to snatch up flowers in the sky, this amounts to cultivating what is unreal with something unreal; one will never realize li (in this way).

Answer: The Buddhas, through understanding illusions, are able to save illusory sentient beings. Bodhisattvas illuminate emptiness, and thereby establish (myriad practices) in accord with emptiness.

The Nieh-p'an ching says:

> The Buddha said: 'All dharmas without exception are like illusory forms. The Tathāgata exists in the midst of them, but on account of the power of skillful means there are no stains that can stick to him. Why is it so? The Dharma of the Buddhas is like this.'[1]

The Chung-lun says:

> Because there is the doctrine of emptiness, all dharmas are realized.[2]

Consequently, "suddenness" is like what a seed

already contains, and "gradualness" is similar to the bud subsequently sprouting. Furthermore, it is comparable to when one views a nine-storied tower: one can see it "suddenly" but one must go up the stairs in order to ascend (the tower). When one suddenly realizes the Nature of the mind, the mind itself is Buddha. There is no nature that does not possess (Buddhahood), yet one must accumulate merit and everywhere cultivate the myriad practices. Also, it is comparable to polishing a mirror: one polishes it all over at once but its luminous purity is obtained gradually. When one "suddenly" cultivates the myriad practices, awakening gradually gains supremacy. This is known as "perfect gradualness" (yüan-chien), and not as "gradual perfection" (chien-yüan). It also is that rank which is in the midst of "no-rank", and that practice which is in the midst of "no-practice".

Consequently, effects are penetrated up to their causes. From the subtle to the obvious, all good deeds utilize the power of compassionate good roots and are thereby able to benefit both oneself and others. The nine storied tower began with the first bamboo basket (load of earth). A journey of a thousand li commences with the first step. Vast flowing water starts from its initial source. And the trees of great forests are produced from minute things. The Way does not dismiss trivial practices; darkness does not oppose the first light. Thus, when a

single phrase (which reveals the Truth)[3] colours the spirit, it endures through kalpas without decay. When a single good en~~ters the~~ mind, (through) myriad ages it is not forgotten.

The Nieh-p'an ching says:

> The Buddha said: 'Destorying the hundred kinds of evil through cultivating a mind of a single good is comparable to being able to bring down Mt. Sumeru with a few diamonds. It is also comparable to being able to destroy everything with a small fire, and comparable to being able to harm sentient beings with a small amount of poisonous medicine. The slightest good is also in this way able to destroy the greatest evil.'[4]

The Jih ma-ni pao ching says:

> The Buddha told the Bodhisattva Kāśyapa: 'I contemplate sentient beings: even though they are covered by the sins of thousands of countless myriads of kalpas of involvement in desire and passion, once they turn away and reflect on goodness upon hearing a Buddhist sūtra, their sins will be erased completely.'[5]

The Ta chih-tu lun says:

> When the Tathagata completes the Way, he contemplates the world with ten kinds of smiles. There are great effects from slight causes, great rewards from slight conditions. If one seeks Buddhahood, with one gāthā of praise, by once calling out 'nāma Buddha',[6] or burning one clump of incense, one will certainly become a Buddha. How can it be that after one has heard and knows that the True Form of all dharmas is neither born nor perishes, and is neither "not-born" nor does not perish, karma still does not disappear when one practices the causes and conditions (for extinguishing it)? Because of this he smiles.[7]

(The words of) an old master[8] say:

> Question: 'Bodhidharma did not speak about the causal conditions of meritorious deeds with the Liang Emperor, but (only) said: "No merit!"[9]

Bodhisattvas renounce city and state, and build pagodas and halls. How can it be that they construct them to no avail?"

Answer: 'These words of the Great Master (Bodhidharma) do not destroy the causes and effects of blessed virtues. The emperor did not understand that the merit and virtue of conditioned activities are limited but that the forms and blessings of emptiness and non-existence (wu) are beyond conception. These words destroyed the Emperor's coveting and grasping. If one does not covet and grasp, everything is "unconditioned" (wu-wei). Bodhisattvas, furthermore, are wheel (turning) kings. In this manner, their blessings and rewards, and causes and effects are clear and apparent. Can it be that they have no merit? Those who understand the Truth deal with these merits as being the same as the Dharma-realm; none of these blessings and rewards are exhausted. For those who do not understand the Truth these merits are nothing more than the retribution of conditioned activities in transmigration; one should not covet and attach oneself to these.'[10]

The National Teacher (Hui-)chung said:

Buddhas and Bodhisattvas are all endowed with the two adornments of blessings and wisdom.[11]

How can it be that we reject and deny causes and effects? Do not obstruct shih with li, or hinder li with shih. One practices throughout the day without contradicting (the realm of) 'no-practice'.

(The words of) Dharma master Sheng say:

Question: 'What does it mean that snapping one's fingers and joining one's palms are none other than the cause of Buddhahood?'

Answer: 'All dharmas without exception have no fixed Nature (of their own), and so by whatever means suitable, they comply with conditions. If covetousness is the condition, one goes for the reward of rebirth as a man or a god. If one approaches Bodhisattvas as the condition, one will realize Buddhahood as the reward. Even True Suchness does not keep to its own nature; how much less will (the effects of) these subtle good (deeds) do so.'[12]

It has been said:

> The principle (li) behind the myriad good deeds is the same; this principle is freedom from outflows. These myriad good deeds receive their original being from li. Since li is without differentiation, how can good deeds admit duality? The basic nature of the Womb of the Tathāgata[13] constitutes the cause of the myriad good deeds. It is also known as the primary cause; it intimately generates the myriad good deeds.[14]

The (T'ien-) t'ai teaching says:

> If one makes light of trivial good deeds, one will not become a Buddha. This destroys the seeds of Buddhahood in the world.[15]

Also it (?) says:

> There are two possibilities for good (deeds). The first is perceived in the 'flower-rewards' of men and gods.[16] The second is perceived in the 'fruit-reward' of the Buddhist Way.[17] If one, with the eye of Buddha-wisdom, perfectly illuminates the myriad good deeds for sentient beings, one will ultimately become a Buddha. (This is) the correct intention for the Great Event of the One (i.e. the Buddha) to appear in the world.

The honourable one of Ching-ch'i said:

> A tiny root of goodness (i.e. good deed) proceeds to bodhi. It is comparable to wielding a sword or holding a torch; to do this it is necessary that they have a handle.[19] As for contemplation, (hsiang-hsin), it is comparable to grasping the blade or clutching the fire (directly, without a handle).[20]

In the Fa-hua ching it is clear that by invoking the Buddha with a scattered mind, by singing his praise with a frail voice, by drawing his image with a fingernail, by making a stūpa by collecting sand, one gradually accumulates merit and virtue, and in every case achieves Buddhahood.[21]

The *Ta-pei ching* says:

> The Buddha told Ananda: 'If there are sentient beings who even once issue forth a believing mind in the presence of the Buddhas, the slender good root which they plant will never perish. Even after an eternity of hundreds of thousands of ten-thousands of hundred-millions of *nayuta kalpas*,[21] with that single root of goodness one will surely attain *nirvāṇa*. It is comparable to a drop of water that falls into the ocean. Even though it passes through an eternity, it will never be lost.'[22]

Consequently, when the Great Sacred One complies with the capacities of sentient beings, he responds with great care; neither what is important (i.e. fundamental principle) nor what is trivial (i.e. expedient good deeds) are neglected. He welcomes experienced practitioners and spurs on beginners. How can he reject either those who have completed their practice or those who have not? Sometimes he praises those with small capacities, and leads them to the profound ultimate. Sometimes he scolds those who have not completed their practice, fearing that they will stop at the beginner's gate. How can yellow leaves be gold? How can an empty hand have anything real? In each case, through the intention of promoting or censoring, those are expedient displays of kindness which lure sentient beings to salvation. However, those who do not get the point of the teaching only cling to the words of those skillful means, and by alternatively affirming or denying them, they grasp or renounce with absolute certainty. Some cling to the small vehicle and obstruct the great vehicle; they violate

original, fundamental principle (pen-tsung). Some depend on the great vehicle and hinder the small vehicle; they lack wisdom of expediencies (ch'üan-hui). Again, even though fundamental princple is of the great vehicle, how could its meaning be clarified (without the small vehicle)? These people say "thoroughly reject the insignificant practices of the small vehicle that lead astray". But when they apply this notion, they accept what is unreal and entrust meaning to what exists provisionally. When uttering words, they are excessive. They destroy the wheel of the True Law, and slander great prajna. No other deep faults and extreme transgressions are greater than this. Even though they pass through kalpas, how will they understand the truth? They will forever fall into avici hell.

The Ching-ming ching says:

> Wisdom without skillful means binds one; wisdom with skillful means liberates one. Skillful means without wisdom bind one; skillful means with wisdom liberate one.[23]

How can one criticize what is real by clinging to expediencies, and reject non-existence by violating what exists? One should propagate the great vehicle and the small vehicle as a pair, and implement both emptiness and existence; the three contemplations of one-mind would then be free from transgression.[24] Consequently, when one accords with the Dharma-substance (fa-t'i), not even the slightest thing is established; but when one complies with

the function of wisdom (chih-yung), great deeds are constantly generated. Because substance is not separate from function, it is tranquil and yet constantly luminous. Because function is not separate from substance, it is luminous and yet constantly tranquil. This is why substance which is permanent and function which is permanent are always luminous and always tranquil. If one understands the meaning of and bases oneself on fundamental principle (kuei-tsung), then one is separate from both substance and function. (As such), what is luminous or tranquil? Why, in other words, hinder function by clinging to substance, and destroy conditions by grasping Nature? When li and shih are not in harmony, and (Absolute) Truth and the mundane (truth) become separated, then the sympathy resulting from having a common essence (with sentient beings) ceases to operate, and the benevolence which saves (sentient beings) regardless of conditions does not ensue. When good and evil have not been equally contemplated, how can enemies and friends everywhere be rescued? It is the worst of transgressions! Of errors, there are none greater that this.

Also, an earlier master[25] said:

> These good friends, even though they clearly see the Buddha-nature and are the same as a Buddha, if we are to discuss their merit, they are not yet equal to the various Sacred Ones. From this day onward, should be assisted by permeating infuences in every step that they take.[26]

And an old master said:

> The bhikṣu T'an-tzu repayed the debt and even though he did not realize li, he still possessed the methods of practice. At the present time, many are the students neglectful of both of the two activities (shih).[27]

Thus one knows that "seeing (one's) nature," is not yet the Truth. If one understands by only following the words, when it comes time to actually investigate his attainments, all primary and assisting methods of practice have been forsaken.[28] This is why former Sacred Ones never destroyed the stages (of practice). How can one regard this as easy when he touches his heart and examines himself? (?) Consequently, the "six stages for unification"[29] are for pointing out abuses, and the "ten stages of Bodhisattva practice"[30] are for discriminating respective achievements. In terms of unification, (why should one determine) which are the common people and which the Sacred Ones? But in terms of the six (stages), the common people and Sacred Ones are by nature distinguished. Furthermore, in terms of li, the beginner's stage is at once endowed with all stages. But in terms of practice, the later stages succeed the former ones step by step. The numerous kalpas in the lower stages do not compare with that benefit produced in a single thought once one has reached the eighth stage.

QUESTION AND ANSWER

Section 62

[T 48, p. 983a-b]

Question: The Fa-chü ching says:[1]

> If one enables the mind not to arise, that constitutes boundless spiritual diligence.

Why promote the mind by establishing activities (shih), and contradict the Way which is free from conditioned activity (wu-tso)?

Answer: The mind itself is "no-mind",[2] and shih does not hinder li. To act is to be free from activity; Nature (hsing) does not obstruct conditions.

Thus, the National Teacher Hsien-shou (Fa-tsang) said:

> Because the substance of conditioned-arising is tranquil, what arises never arises. Because one embodies substance (t'i) and complies with conditions, what does not arise always arises.[3]

The Ta-chi ching says:

> The Buddha said: 'There are two kinds of spiritual diligence: firstly, initial issuing forth of spiritual diligence; and secondly, final completion of spiritual diligence. Bodhisattvas, by means of initial issuing forth of spiritual diligence, learn to complete all good dharmas; by means of the final completion of spiritual diligence, they discern that all dharmas do not possess self-nature.'[4]

In the Chin kuang-ming ching,[5] even though one obtains Buddhahood, spiritual progress does not cease. Thus, those in the assembly arise and worship the bones of

the (Buddha's) body, not to mention how the remaining common and lowly people perform with upright posture and folded hands.[6] Thus, among the eighteen unique characteristics of a Buddha, spiritual diligence is not subtracted.[7]

The Ta(-chih-tu) lun says:

> Bodhisattvas know that all spiritual diligence without exception is unreal, and yet they constantly accomplish it and do not retreat from it. This is known as true spiritual diligence.[8]

QUESTION AND ANSWER

Section 78

[T 48, p. 988a-b]

Question: The practices of Buddhism are unsurpassable, and all philosophers esteem them. The two teachings of Confucianism and Taoism respect them wholeheartedly. Why, among later generations, are there those who revile (Buddhism), and not believe?

Answer: Our former ancestors who were Confucianists and Taoists[1] all were Bodhisattvas who assisted[2], promoted, and equally praised the Buddha-vehicle.

> Lao-tzu said:
>
> My teacher is called the Buddha. He enlightens all peoples.[3]
>
> The *Hsi-sheng ching* says:
>
> My teacher transformed himself and wandered to India, where he entered *nirvāṇa*.[4]
>
> The *Fu-tzu* says:
>
> The teacher of Lao-tzu was called Śākyamuni.[5]
>
> The *Lieh-tzu* says:
>
> Chief minister P'i of Shang asked Confucius: 'Is the Master a sage?' Confucius replied: 'I have extensive knowledge and a strong memory, (but) I am not a sage.'
>
> Again he asked: 'Were the Three Kings sages?'
>
> (Confucius) replied: 'The Three Kings were good at employing wisdom and courage, (but) they were not sages.'

Again he asked: 'Were the Five Emperors sages?'

(Confucius) replied: 'The Five Emperors were good at employing humanity and righteousness, still I do not know (whether they were sages or not).

Again he asked: 'Were the Three Highnesses sages?'

(Confucius) replied: 'The Three Highnesses were good at adapting themselves to the times, still I do not know (whether they were sages or not).

Chief minister P'i was greatly amazed. 'If so, then who is a sage?' The Master changed his expression, and said: 'I have heard that in the west there is a sage. He does not rule, yet there is no disorder; He does not speak, yet he is trusted spontaneously; He does not convert, yet his influence prevails spontaneously. He is so great that none of his people can give a name to him.'[6]

The Book of Wu says:

The lord of Wu, Sun Chuan asked the prime minister K'an Tse: 'As for Confucius and Lao-tzu, can they compare with the Buddha or not?' K'an Tse said: 'If one takes the two schools of Confucius and Lao-tzu and calculates their distance from the Buddha-Dharma, it is farther than far! The reason is as follows: the teachings which Confucius and Lao-tzu established are modelled on Heaven (t'ien). These teachings do not dare disobey Heaven. As for the teaching which the Buddhas established, Heaven (t'ien) respects and practices it; Heaven does not dare to disobey the Buddha. Put in this way, it is indeed clear that they do not compare!'
The master of Wu was overjoyed, and employed K'an Tse as the tutor of the imperial prince.[7]

The Ch'i shih-chieh ching says:

The Buddha said: 'I sent two sages to China, to practice converting. The first, Lao-tzu, is the Bodhisattva Kaśyapa. The second, Confucius, is the Bodhisattva Ju-t'ung.[8]

One clearly knows that from the past to the present, all those who possess benefits among men are Bodhisattvas who have been secretly converted. It is only something

that Great Warriors (Bodhisattvas) understand, not something that can be fathomed with ordinary emotions. As a consequence, many who are ill-informed and have only superficial knowledge produce slander in the manner that (fire produces) smoke. All of these, furthermore, are from not understanding the original, fundamental principle (pen-tsung) (of Buddhism); this deludedly gives rise to foolish attachments.

Those who worship Lao-tzu enthusiastically rely on talismans and written codes(?). They forge stone and melt gold (in their search for eternal life). They make offerings of freshly killed animals and fish at religious services, and study the deceptions of (Taoist) gods and hermits.

Those who enter the gate of Confucius willfully contravene sincerity and simplicity, and intentionally honour their vane elegance. They lend wings to the maddening talents of a parrot, and specialize in the petty skills of a spider. All these oppose (the teachings of) former masters, and naturally miss (the intentions of) the original, fundamental principle (of Buddhism). If these people are not criticized, how would one reveal the profundity of Buddhism? If inferior scholars are not laughed at, how would one realize the Way of Buddhism?

Consequently, the Buddha-Dharma is comparable to the sea--there is nothing whatsoever that it does not contain. And li is similar to the sky--one can enter it from any

gate. The various philosophers in the remote depths encounter the Buddha-Dharma; the thousand sages associate with and base themselves on it. The Absolute (Truth) and the mundane (worldly truth) both prevail; foolishness and wisdom shine forth in unison.

When initiating the mundane truth one encourages subjects with loyalty; encourages sons with filial piety; encourages the country with decrees; and encourages households with harmony. To spread good, one makes known the bliss of heaven. To chastise wrongdoing, one reveals the pain of hell. The words for "the One (Teaching)" (i.e. Buddhism) should not be the only ones considered as praiseworthy. How could one encourage (the observation of) the precepts by eliminating the five punishments? (?)[9]

When propagating the Absolute Truth, affirmation and negation are both eliminated; the subject and object are both empty. One apprehends the myriad phenomena as One Truth, and consummates (the teachings of) the three vehicles in the Perfect Ultimate. If not for the arranged order of the two truths, how could (the teachings of) the "hundred schools" be incorporated?

QUESTION AND ANSWER

Section 97

[T 47, pp. 990c-991a]

Question: If one widely cultivates the myriad good deeds, in every instance one esteems compassion. If one only accepts the teaching of Absolute Truth, there are hinderances to worldly truth. In other words, if one managed a kingdom, he would relinquish control of his kingdom; or if one were a householder, he would fail to get married. Even though one would claim to benefit others, one would yet to realize total excellence.

Answer: The many good deeds of the Buddha Dharma invigorate things everywhere without limit. The power (of good deeds) saves the living and the dead, and the Way (of the Buddha Dharma) includes both the Absolute Truth and the mundane (worldly truth). When there are good (deeds) in a kingdom, then the kingdom holds hegemony. When there are good (deeds) in a household, then the household is affluent. They benefit extensively and abundantly, and their merits are not small.

Therefore, a book says:

> The household which accumulates good (deeds) will inevitably have future felicities. The household which accumulates evil (deeds) will inevitably have future misfortunes.[1]

Also, (the Book of History) says:

> On the doer of good (deeds), (Shang-ti) sends down all blessings. On the doer of evil (deeds), he sends down misfortunes.[2]

In the Canons of the Sung (420-479), the Emperor Wen, during the Yüan Chia era (424-453), asked Imperial Secretary (?) Ho:

> 'Fan T'ai and Hsieh Ling-yün said: "The six (Confucian) classics[3] basically are for aiding the common world (by promoting good conduct). To the true essentials of the spiritual nature, Buddhist sutras are considered as one's guide." If, throughout this land, everyone were true to this guiding influence, then I, while seated (on the throne), could bring true peace (to the kingdom).'
>
> The Imperial Secretary replied: 'When, in a village of a hundred households, ten people observe the five precepts,[4] then ten people are sincere and reverent. When, in a city of a thousand households, a hundred people cultivate the ten good deeds,[5] then a hundred people are harmonious and considerate. When this is spread through proclamation and has been spread into houses everywhere in a land of ten million, humane people will (number) one million. When one is able to practice a single good (deed), then one removes a single evil (deed). When one removes a single evil, then one halts a single crime. When one crime is halted in the household, then ten-thousand crimes are halted in the kingdom. This, your majesty, is what is meant by "while sitting (on the throne), bringing true peace (to the kingdom)."'[6]

Consequently, the all-inclusive Dharma-realm pervades and fills the sky. With the practice of even a single good deed one benefits everywhere. In other words, (the myriad good dees) provide the necessary framework for rectifying oneself, assisting transformation, reforming the kingdom, and protecting the household. If one, on the basis of these, rectifies oneself, (it follows that) everyone

could be rectified; and on the basis of these reforms the kingdom, (it follows that) every kingdom could be reformed. In the near (future), there will be fortunes to men and gods. In the distant (future), one will ascend to Buddhahood.

QUESTION AND ANSWER

Section 98

[T 48, p. 991a-b]

Question: What do those who cultivate the myriad good deeds consider as their fundamental origin?

Answer: The mind is the origin of all li and shih. As for li, a sutra says:

> When one contemplates that all dharmas are none other than the self-nature of mind, one realizes the body of wisdom.[1] One does not awaken to this by attributing them to other causes.[2]

The mind of True Reality, therefore is the foundation of the contemplation of True Suchness.

As for shih, a sutra says:

> Mind, like the Master skilled in drawing, is able to depict all worlds. The five aggregates all arise in accordance with it. There are no dharmas that it does not create.[3]

The rational cogitating mind (which discerns the realm of objects) therefore, is the foundation of the contemplation of (different states of) mental consciousness.

The mind of True Reality is the "substance", and the rational cogitating mind is the "function". Function is none other than the aspect of the mind as "birth and death". Substance is none other than the aspect of the mind as "True Suchness".[4] In terms of substance and function, it is divided into two, (but) there is really only one mind.

Function, which is really the functioning of substance, is not separate from substance. Substance, which is really the substance of functioning, is not separate from function. Whether separated or joined, even though they are distinct, True Nature is undisturbed.

The mind is able to create Buddha, and the mind creates sentient beings. The mind creates heaven, and the mind creates hell. When the mind differentiates, a thousand differences arise in competition; when the mind is at peace, the Dharma-realm is in a state of calm. When the mind is ordinary, the three poisons[5] entangle one; when the mind is sacred, the six supernatural powers[6] operate freely. When the mind is empty, the Way of Oneness is pure; when the mind exists (conditionally), the myriad objects teem in competition. It is comparable to the sound of echoes in a valley: when the words are loud, the echo is great. It is similar to reflected images in a mirror: when the shapes are distorted, the images are disproportionate.

Because the myriad practices depend on the mind, they all depend on oneself. When internally (the mind) is void, external (objects) are never real. When internally (the mind) is subtle, external (objects) are never coarse. Good causes will eventually result in good conditions. When evil is practiced, it is difficult to avoid evil circumstances.

Treading upon the clouds and drinking sweet dew is

not something attributable to others. Lying down in smoke and flames and sucking pus and blood is something that one is resonsible for oneself. The one is not something that Heaven grants, and the other is not something that Hell causes. It is one's most basic thought, and nothing else, that brings about such rising (to Heaven) or descent (to Hell).

If one desires peace and harmony outwardly, one must be inwardly peaceful and quiet. When the mind is void, objects are tranquil; when thoughts arise, dharmas are born. When water is muddy, waves are dark; when deep water is clear, the moon (reflected in it) is bright. The essentials of cultivation and practice are no different than this. One can term this the gateway of many wonders, the hall of collected spirits, the origin of rising and falling, or the source of misfortunes and blessings. If one only rectifies one's own mind, what in the separate realm of objects will there be to perplex one?

A <u>sutra</u> says:

> Whether one does good (deeds) and blessings accompany one, or one practices evil (deeds) and misfortunes follow one, it is like the response of an echo to sound. Good and evil are like the sound. They are not something that heavenly dragons or demonic spirits grant. They are not something that a former ancestor's departed soul or his later descendents create. What creates them is the mind alone. What brings them about is the body and speech.[7]

The Buddha uttered a _gāthā_:

The mind is the origin of dharmas.
The mind honours them and the mind causes them.
As soon as one thinks evil in the mind,
One speaks it; one practices it.
Sins and pain will naturally follow one,
(like) pebbles in the wheel tracks of a cart.

The mind is the origin of dharmas.
The mind honours them and the mind causes them.
As soon as one thinks good in the mind,
One speaks it; one practices it.
Blessings and joy will naturally follow one,
like shadows accompany forms.[8]

The _Hua-yen ching_ says:

The Bodhisattva Chih-shou asked Manjuśri: 'How does one become devoid of transgression in the karmic deeds of the body, speech, and thought...thus to attain the supreme; the insurpassable; to attain rank; to transcend rank?'

Manjuśri answered: 'Son of the Buddha. If all Bodhisattvas use their minds well, then they will obtain all excellent and wonderous meritorious virtues.'[9]

The _Mi-yen ching_ says:

As the earth does not distinguishing anything,
All things depend on it in order to be born
The storehouse consciousness is also like this.
It is the foundation of the many objects.
It is comparable to a person, with his own hands,
massaging his own body.
It is also comparable to an elephant with its trunk,
fetching water and washing itself.
Furthermore, it is similar to all infants
sucking their fingers with their mouths.
In this manner, within one's own mind
one manifests objects which in turn, conditions
  oneself.
This is the objective realm of the mind
that everywhere pervades the three existences.[10]
Those who cultivate, contemplate, and practice for a
  long time,
are able to penetrate and move freely in them.
The various worlds, whether internal or external,
are nothing more than manifestations of the mind.'[11]

On the basis of what is said here, how can (the mind) be the origin of the myriad good deeds alone?[12] Whether sentient beings or insentient beings, common people or Sacred Ones, the objective realm or emptiness, the myriad phenomena all make mind their origin. It is also said that "the absence of a basis is the root (or origin of the myriad phenomena)."[13] When the root is established the Way flourishes. This is what is being referred to here.

APPENDIX I - FOOTNOTES

Introduction

I-1. This is a difficult passage gramatically. I follow Takase's translation in KK. The term "True Form" (shih-hsiang/實相), indicates the real state of things; the universal and eternal truth applicable to all things; ultimate existence; the essence of all things; the one reality. As a term which translates such sanskrit words as *dharmatā* and *bhuta-tathatā*, it means the truth inherent in the enlightenment of the Buddha. Yet, as a different name for such things as Absolute Suchness (*i-ju*), True Nature (*chen-hsing*), Nirvana (*nieh-p'an*) or the unconditioned (*wu-wei*), it includes many meanings. After Kumarajiva used it as a meaning for emptiness in his translations of Nagarjuna, this meaning was emphasized. Generally, in the Mahayana it appears in the expression "the True Form of all phenomena" (諸法實相) as a fourth characteristic of Buddhist teaching in addition to those three (impermanence 無常 , no self 無我 , and nirvana 涅槃) proffered by Hinayanists. Its meaning varies somewhat according to different schools. In the San-lun School, it expressed the principle of emptiness which transcended and destroyed attachment to both emptiness and existence. In the case of the T'ien-t'ai School, it expressed perfect personal realization. In it there is no distinction between *li* and *shih*, and all things are in perfect harmony. For deluded common people, it expresses the means by which they can see the Buddha directly. In this regard, and in conjunction with the nature of the WSTKC generally, special notice should be made of its meaning in the T'ien-t'ai school. (For usages, see the *Wei-mo ching*, T. 14-475, pp. 541a, 544b, and 551b; the *Chung lun*, T. 30-1564, 18-9; the *Ta chih-tu lun*, T. 25-1509, p. 297c; *Hua-yen ching*, T. 9-278, p. 755c). The term *tsung* (宗), here translated as "fundamental principle" is also an important one for Yen-shou. It appears in the title of his major work, the *Tsung-ching lu*, and appears in a line of the *Leng-chia ching* quoted at the outset of Yen-shou's *Hsin-pu chu*: "The Mind which the Buddha spoke of constitutes *tsung*; the gate of non-being (*wu*) constitutes the Dharma-gate." (HTC 111, p. 1a). It refers to the essential teaching of Buddhism, for Yen-shou, the teaching of mind and mind cultivation. Early usages of the term *tsung* can be found in ch. 4 of

the Tao-te ching, and in the Lun-yü, I.13. As for its usage in Ch'an, in the Sung Dynasty it acquires a meaning similar to chiao (教), except that tsung is used to refer specifically to Ch'an teaching, while chiao is used to indicate the various teachings of other Buddhist schools.

I-2. The term Absolute Suchness (i-ju/一如) indicates the indivisible and absolute unity of the tathatā. Oneness (i), being non-dual, is the meaning of the Absolute. Tathatā (ju, the Chinese translation for the Sanskrit term) is said to be without difference or distinction. Yen-shou often employs the terms and language of "oneness," and non-differentiation/distinction in relation to this context. The term i-ju is used to describe the fundamental principle of true suchness (chen-ju) which is inherent in all things; it is synonymous with the term shih-hsiang, "True Form," as well.

I-3. Most simply, the world/realm of dharmas/phenomena (Fa-chieh/法界). In the Mahayanā especially, it acquired the meaning of a religio-metaphysical "first principle" as the source or origin of the phenomenal world. In viewing the entire existence of the universe as phenomena, and namely the True Principle operating through them, it was used as a term equivalent to True Suchness (真如). And, as the True Principle (真理) itself, it has the same meaning as Buddha, or Dharma-kaya. In the Hua-yen School, Dharma-dhātu is a key term used in relation to several contexts. According to ch. 18 of the Hua-yen ching t'an-hsüan chi by Fa-tsang (T 35-1733), it has three meanings: (1) the cause which produces the teachings of savants; (2) the True Substance-Nature of phenomena; and (3) the fact that all phenomena preserve their individual uniqueness. Furthermore, as the pure mind which is the origin of the Buddha and sentient beings, it is known as the "Dharma-dhātu of One-Mind" and "Dharma-dhātu where Absolute Truth is free from obstruction." As all phenomena are herein mutually identical (相即) and mutually harmonious (相入), the causal arising of Dharma-dhātu is known as the "non-obstruction of shih and shih" and the "inexhaustible intertwining (of all phenomena)."

I-4. The term, p'ing-teng (平等), literally indicates equality, or things of equal rank. It is the world of non-distinction, the absolute principle penetrating all phenomena.

I-5. The paramitas, often numbered at six, are practices by which Bodhisattvas are able to attain enlightenment; the list of six paramitas includes: dana, donation or giving; śila, keeping the precepts; kṣānti, perseverance; virya, assiduity; dhyāna, meditation; and prajñā, wisdom.

The term Mind-only (wei-hsin/唯心) is a principle indicating that everything is but a manifestation of mind, and that apart from mind things have no existence. There are various examples of its use, but perhaps the most representative one appears in the Daśabhūmika-sūtra in the line: "This triple-world is Mind-only," frequently cited as evidence of the principle of Consciousness-only in Hua-yen thought. For Yen-shou, this term includes the notion that such things as the Buddha and the Pure Land do not exist apart from the intrinsic self-nature of one's own-mind. (See the Wei-shih erh-shih lun, T. 31-1590, p. 74b, etc.)

I-6. Generally speaking, li is the principle of universal or absolute truth, or noumena. Shih denotes concrete particulars or phenomena. In ch. 25 of the Abhidharmakośa of Vasubandhu, the truth of the Buddha's teaching, namely the Four Noble Truths, is rendered as li, while false phenomenal objects are rendered as shih. In the Wei-shih (唯識) School, shih is regarded as phenomena which rely on others to arise, and li is the true suchness of that which is perfectly true. Their relationship is regarded as neither identical nor different (不即不離). They are distingusihed in such a way where li is said to be "unconditioned" (wu-wei/無為) and shih is "conditioned" (yu-wei/有為). In the Awakening of Faith, True Suchness (li) is activated by conditions, and is manifested as the myriad pheonmena (shih). In T'ien-t'ai, li and shih form the two concepts of the origin and its traces, whereby the origin is the principle of absolute truth (li) and the traces are phenomena of worldly truth (shih). Finally, in Hua-yen, they are central concepts. Li and shih are mutually interpenetrating and harmonious, and are ultimately indistinguishable. For a discussion of the relation of li and shih to Dharma-dhātu in Hua-yen thought, see Garma Chang, The Buddhist Teaching of Totality, pp. 141ff., and for a translation of Tu Shun's On the Meditation of Dharmadhatu (Fa-chieh kuan) T. 45-1884, see pp. 207-23 of the same. For Yen-shou, the Hua-yen use of these terms is most important; the T'ien-t'ai use is also significant.

I-7. (t'ung-t'i chih pei/同體之悲). This generally refers to the compassion of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas.

I-8. Wu-chin chih hsing (無盡之行). As a technical term, this refers to number four of the ten practices, which constitute stages twenty-one to thirty of the fifty-two stages in the process of becoming a Buddha. However, it here indicates a general, rather than technical meaning.

I-9. The "substance" (t'i) here takes the place of the word "origin" (pen), the term usually used in association with chi, 'traces", especially in the T'ien-t'ai school. For their meaning in the context of li and shih, see note I-6 above.

I-10. The term hsiang-tzu (相資) indicates the production of effects, outcomes, etc., through mutual assistance. Hsiang-she (相攝) indicates that one rank or aspect of something includes all others. (See the Wu-chiao chang, T. 45-1866, pp. 482a, 502a.) Regarding the doctrinal background of the Hua-yen School generally, see Francis H. Cook, Hua-yen Buddhism.

I-11. "Not mutually identical and mutually negating" (hsiang-fei hsiang-to/相非相奪), is in contrast with "mutually identified and mutually generated" (hsiang-chi hsiang-ch'eng/相即相成). Li and shih are both distinct (hsiang-fei) and identical (hsiang-chi). If li is distinguished from shih (hsiang-t'o), then what you have is no longer li, and shih cannot be shih without li (hsiang-ch'eng).

I-12. A śrāvaka was originally considered as a practitioner who listens to the teaching of the Buddha. However, in the Mahayana it became a derogatory term, along with pratyeka-buddha, used to refer to practitioners of the Hinayana. Here the idea probably is that Hinayana monks seek salvation (li) apart from the world (shih); and ordinary beings only know the world of shih.

I-13. The water and waves metaphor, through its appearance in such works as the Awakening of Faith and the Laṅkāvatāra Sutra, was frequently used by Chinese Buddhists, particularly those of the Ch'an School. For a discussion of its use, see Whalen Lai, "Ch'an metaphors: Waves, Water, Mirror, Lamp" in Philosophy East and West, no. 3, July 1979, pp. 243-53.

I-14. Generally, the ultimate aspect of truth and the mundane aspect of truth. Usually, as seems to be the case here, these can be regarded as different names for <u>li</u> and <u>shih</u>, respectively. For a description of different understandings of the two truths in the Chinese context, see <u>Bukkyōgakujiten</u>, pp. 345c-348d.

I-15. What exists as an illusion (<u>huan-ts'un</u>) is comparable to the confusing of human eyes through the use of various occult or esoteric arts; when the dream-world (of illusions) disappears (<u>meng-chi</u>), the unreal notions which existence is predicated upon are empty. These serve as metaphors for phenomena that have either a provisional existence, dependent on causes and conditions, or are essentially empty and unreal (see the <u>Chin-kang ching</u>, T. 8-235, p. 752b).

I-16. Emptiness (空), provisionality (假), and the Mean or middle (中) are three terms used in T'ien-t'ai to represent three viewpoints established in that school. Emptiness refers to the fact that the fundamental essence of all phenomena is empty and tranquil. Provisionality refers to the fact that all phenomena have an apparent existence, as they are produced according to causes and conditions. The mean is the Absolute Truth which is neither empty nor provisional. (See the <u>Chih-kuan fu-hsing</u>, T. 46-1912, p. 208.)

I-18. The "substance of <u>li</u>" (<u>li-t'i</u>/理體) indicates the original substance of myriad existence (see the <u>T'ien-t'ai szu-chiao i</u>, T. 46-1931, p. 780a).

I-18. (<u>wu-suo-te</u>/無所得) indicates the state of unrestricted freedom. As all phenomena are empty, with nothing being fixed or permanent, there is nothing to be attained. Within the mind of true principle where substance (<u>t'i</u>) is free from form, there are no distinctions whatsoever, and nothing to cling to; this is the state of <u>wu-suo-te</u>. It is the wisdom of emptiness; the wisdom free from distinctions. In the <u>Nieh-p'an ching</u> (ch. 17) it is contrasted with the state where one has attainments (<u>yu-suo-te</u>). Thus <u>wu-suo-te</u> is likened to wisdom as opposed to ignorance (<u>yu-suo-te</u>); and the condition of bodhisattvas who have severed all birth and death as opposed to the wheel of birth and death of common people (T. 12-374, p. 464a-b). In the <u>Ta-chih-tu lun</u> (ch. 18) it is said that one should only seek

the Buddha-way and not other recompense through almsgiving. Those who utilize wu-suo-te (in their almsgiving) obtain the True Form (shih-hsiang) of all dharmas and the spirit (ch'i) of the Prajñā-pāramitā (T. 25-1509, p. 395a).

I-19. "Ultimate Reality" (shih-chi/實際) is another term for the True Form of all dharmas, equivalent in meaning to Dharma-nature, True Suchness, and Emptiness. It is regarded as the foundation by which all dharmas come into being (see the Ta chih-tu lun, T. 25-1509, p. 297c). "Gateways of Transformation" (hua-men/化門) refer to activities for saving sentient beings.

I-20. (T'ung-ch'en/同塵) is a term which appears in ch. 4 and 56 of the Tao-te ching. In Buddhism it indicates the activity of being born in the world in order to save sentient beings.

I-21. (I-hsin/一心) The Absolute, non-dual Mind which is the fundamental principle of the universe and the substance of the myriad phenomena. (See the Ch'i-hsin lun, T. 32-1666, p. 576a and 576c.)

I-22. Mahāprajñāpāramitā-sūtra, T 5-220, untraced.

I-23. Arranging one's existence with a proper attitude, so as to restrian and eliminate evil. By restraining one's body and mind, one dispels evil, and by converting those who are antagonistic, one causes them to discard their evil intentions, and causes them to overcome that which brings about hinderances (see the Hua-yen ching, T. 9-278, p. 395c). This, according to Nakamura, Bukkyōgo daijiten, 760 c-d.

I-24. "Realm of objects" (ching-chieh/境界) refer to the Sanskrit terms viṣaya, meaning "the region to which the result of one's conduct reaches"; and the term gocara, meaning "the sphere where one performs one's activities as well as the world where one is born and lives according to the result of his former conduct" (Japanese-English Buddhist Dictionary, pp. 189-90).

I-25. Tzu-tsai (自在); (see the Wei-mo ching, T. 14-475, p. 553a).

I-26. Avataṃsaka-sūtra, T 10-279, pp. 339b-340a. The quotation in the WSTKC is an abbreviation of the original. To summarize, in the original the elder

enlightened arises from samādhi and proclaims that he entered the gate of liberation of unhindered adornment of the tathāgata. Furthermore, he proceeds to say that when he entered that gate of liberation, he was able to see each Buddhaland of the ten directions and innumerable tathāgatas. However, the tathāgatas of those lands did not come to the place where he was at, nor did he go to those lands. It is at this point that he states that if he desires to see (in the original) the tathāgata Amitabha in the World of Peace and Happiness, he can see Him with his own thought. He then proceeds to make the same assertion regarding the tathāgatas Golden Light, Precious Light, Precious Lotus Blossom Light, Serene Light, Aksobhya, Lion, Moon-Enlightened, and Vairocana in their respective worlds. He repeats that they did not come to his place, nor did he go to visit them there. He then continues, "I know that all the Buddhas extend to my mind, and are without exception like dreams. I know that all the Buddhas are similar to reflections, and my-own-mind is like water. I know that the marks that all the Buddhas possess depend on my own-mind and are, without exception, like illusions. I know that all the Buddhas depend on my mind itself, and are, without exception, like echoes. In this manner I am able to know them, and in this manner I am able to recollect them. To see the Buddhas of the ten directions, I always depend upon my own-mind...." What follows from here is, with minor abbreviation, the same as that quoted in the WSTKC.

(This episode is contained in the "Entering the Dharmadhātu" section (入法界品 /Gandavyūha-sutra) of the Hua-yen ching. This section relates the story of the spiritual quest of Shan-ts'ai (Sudhāna). In his quest for enlightenment, he questions some 53 people--monks, nuns, gods, lay people, etc., as well as Bodhisattvas. In the end, upon hearing the ten great vows issued by the Bodhisattva P'u-hsien (Samantabhadra), he vows to be reborn in Amitabha's Pure Land of the western direction. The WSTKC quotation is taken from the 80 ch. translation of Siksananda in 695-699. For a discussion of the Gaṇdavyūha in English, see D. T. Suzuki, On Indian Mahayana Buddhism, pp. 147-226.)

In the Hua-yen ching, the full list of aids to the mind is given as follows: (1) good dharmas; (2) the (cleansing) water of the Dharma; (3) according to realm and region; (4) vigour; (5) "you must make

your own-mind contented through patience"; (6) "you must make your own-mind immaculate with the assurance of wisdom"; (7) wisdom; (8) the unrestricted power of the Buddha; (9) the impartiality of the Buddha; (10) the ten powers of the Buddha. Nos. (4), (5), and (7) are included among the pāramitās. According to the Chü-she lun (T. 1558, p. 140b), the ten powers which a Buddha possesses give complete knowledge of: 1) what is right or wrong in every condition; 2) what is the karma of every being, past, present, and future; 3) all stages of dhyana, liberation, and samadhi; 4) the powers and faculties of all beings; 5) the desires, or moral tendency of every being; 6) the actual condition of every individual; 7) the direction and consequence of all laws; 8) details pertaining to the past lives of oneself and others; 9) when beings will die and where they will be reborn; 10) the destruction of all illusion.

I-27. The terms ku-te (translated here as "old master") and hsien-te) translated as an "earlier master") appear frequently in the WSTKC. As these references are unclear, they present a considerable problem. I have treated them as references to actual Buddhist masters; as material quoted from the records and texts of particular masters. But as the reference to them is such a general one, it is nearly impossible to trace the sources from which they derive. [The term ku-te is a general appelation referring to past Buddhas and Patriarchs (see the CTCTL ch. 28, Ta-mo Wu-yeh biography; T 51-2076, p. 444c)]

I-28. (i-nien/一念). An extremely short period of time; the time that it takes to think one thought. In Ch'an it indicates the instantaneous attainment of complete knowledge (see the Li-tai fa-pao chi, Yanagida Seizan, "Shoki no zenshū II", Zen no goroku 3, p. 251). As I have not been able to trace the source, the translation here is tentative.

I-29. Untraced. Where the quotation ends is uncertain. Part of it may in fact be Yen-shou's own words. Yen-shou regularly cites from other sources to verify his position, without marking the point where the quotation ends and his own comments resume.

I-30. The meaning of wei-yu chi yün in the original is unclear; the translation is tentative.

I-31. (ch'en-lao/塵勞) refers to the dust (ch'en) of the mind which causes mental fatigue (lao). "Dust" refers to the "six dusts" of form, sound, smell, taste, touch, and (mental) phenomena; when the six sense-organs, the eyes, ears, nose, tongue, body, and thought, perceive these "six dusts" and produce the six consciousnesses, it results in various kinds of painful fatigue.

NO. 1

1-1. The sentence quoted here is with slight variation the same as that which appears in the biography of Hui-neng contained in the Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu, ch. 5, T 51, p. 236a. It appears in the context of a discussion between Hui-neng and Hsüeh Chien, a palace attendant dispatched by the Emperor Chung-tsung to invite Hui-neng to the capital in order that the Emperor might question him concerning the Dharma. It is said that as a result of this conversation, Hsüeh Chien attained great awakening. The first portion of the sentence, "when things are not judged as good or evil..." appears frequently throughout Ch'an literature, especially in selections relating to the Southern School. In the Ch'uan-hsin fa-yao, of Huang-po it is used in a passage which purports to relate the incident which occasioned the enlightenment of Hui-ming by Hui-neng when the former sought to steal the dharma-robe from the latter, but was instead enlightened. The words which occasioned this enlightenment, "when things are not judged as good or evil, just at this moment, what is your original face before your mother and father were born?", later became the basis of a famous k'ung-an (koan). It also appears in the Wan-ling lu, where Huang-po states: "When things are not judged as good or evil, at that time, one immediately transcends the triple-world." (see Iriya Yoshitaka, Zen no Goroku 8, p. 85 and 133). Though the wording is different, a somewhat similar sentiment can be seen in the biography of Ma-tsu Tao-i in the Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu, ch. 6, T 51, p. 246a; "Do not choose what is good, nor reject what is evil, but rather be free from purity and defilement." Furthermore, the term mind-substance (hsin-t'i/心體) appears prominently in the works of Bodhidharma. In the Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu, ch. 3, p. 220a, it becomes a term for the unspeakable essence of the tradition which all the Buddhas have transmitted. It is also seen in the work attributed to him entitled: Two Entrances and Four Practices (see

Yanagida Seizan, Zen no goroku 1, pp. 175 and 188). It is a term which is important in the Ch'i-hsin lun (Awakening of Faith, T 32-1666, pp. 576b, 578a), and appears in such Ch'an works as those of Huang-po (Iriya, op. cit., pp. 7, 102, and 134-5) and Tsung-mi, (Kamata Shigeo, Zen no goroku 9, p. 336).

1-2. The Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra, T. 1-7, p. 204c. This appears in the first couplet of a four line verse attributed to the Buddha before his passing into parinirvāṇa. This verse is considered to represent the fundamental outlook of Buddhism. The complete verse there is quoted as: "All things are impermanent;/They appear and disappear./When an end is put to this appearance and disappearance,/Then the bliss of nirvāṇa is realized." Although "all conditioned things" is appropriate as a translation for the term chu-hsing (諸行) in this context, it should be noted that it is the same term that is translated as "all practices" in the context of Yen-shou's thought, and serves as a general equivalent to the "myriad practices," or "myriad good deeds."

1-3. The term hsu-i (祖意), designates the special meaning of the Ch'an school as opposed to the doctrinal studies of other Chinese Buddhist schools (see the CTCTL, ch. 22, biography of Pa-ling Hao-chien; T. 51-2076, p. 386a).

1-4. Substance and function (t'i-yung/體用) became frequently used terms in Chinese Buddhism and later in Neo-Confucianism. They are first mentioned together in Wang Pi's Commentary on the Lao-Tzu, ch. 38, (see Rump and Chan, Commentary on the Lao Tzu by Wang Pi, p. 112). In reference to non-existence (wu), Seng-chao in the Chao-lun discusses them in relation to stillness/tranquility (靜) and movement/activity (動) (T. 45, pp. 151a-c, 154c). As forerunners to the t'i-yung model suggested by Seng-chao, the ching-tung model can be found in the "Yüeh-chi" chapter of the Book of Rites (Li-chi), and the Analects (Lun-yü), VI.23. For interesting discussions of the meaning of t'i-yung in Chinese Buddhism, see Hirai Shunei, "Chugoku bukkyō to taiyō shisō" Riso, no. 549, Feb., 1979, pp. 60-72; and Shimada Kenji, "Taiyō no rekishi ni yosete," in Tsukamoto's festschrift volume entitled: Bukkyō shigaku ronshu, pp. 416-430. For a brief discussion in English, see Wing-tsit Chan, A Sourcebook in Chinese Philosophy, pp. 791 and 322-3. It is also discussed by Liebenthal, Chao-lun, pp. 17ff. An example from Ch'an Buddhist sources, (the Tun-wu

yao-wen/Essentials of Sudden Enlightenment, ch. 2), speaks of this pattern in the following manner: "Purity is original substance (pen-t'i). What is named is the functioning of its traces (chi-yung). From original substance emerges the functioning of traces. From the functioning of traces there is returning to (kuei) original substance. Substance and function are not two, and the origin and its traces are not distinct" (see the text and translation in Hirano Sojo, Tongo yomon, Zen no goroku 6, pp. 168-69).

1-5. These are undoubtedly references to the Hua-yen classification of Buddhist teachings. In its fivefold division, the Sudden Teaching occupies the fourth position while the Perfect Teaching is fifth. According to Kamata, op. cit., pp. 31-2, after Ch'eng-kuan (738-838) the Sudden Teaching became associated with the Ch'an school. In the Hua-yen scheme it corresponds to the teaching of the Vimalakirti, while the Perfect Teaching is expressed in the Avataṃsaka (see the Wu-chiao chang, ch. 1, T. 45-1866, p. 481b).

1-6. The Bodhisattvas Manjusri and Samantabhadra are often contrasted with each other. Manjusri represents meditation or supreme wisdom, and is regarded as the idealization or personification of the wisdom of the Buddha. While he is not mentioned in Pali sources, he appears prominently in various Mahayana sutras. He appears in the Vimalakirti as the Bodhisattva who is willing to pay a housecall to the supposedly ill Vimalakirti. In the Lotus, the Bodhisattva Maitreya seeks his instruction. In the Laṅkāvatāra he is one of the two main questioners of the Buddha. And it is from Manusri that Sudhana first hears the teaching, and conceives the thought of enlightenment in the Gaṇḍavyūha. Samantabhadra, on the other hand, typifies the teaching, meditation, and practice of the Buddha. He also appears prominently in the Gaṇḍavyūha. He is initially introduced there by Manjusri as the Bodhisattva which all other bodhisattvas model themselves after. In the end, Samantabhadra himself appears to Sudhana and gives him final instructions on the way of the Bodhisattva.

1-7. "The root and branches" is a common Chinese metaphor used to indicate what is primary and fundamental as opposed to what is secondary and peripheral; or, the unchanging as opposed to that which undergoes changes (original term, pen-mo/本末). For a discussion, see Liebenthal, Chao-lun, pp. 19-20. "Common people and

sacred ones," (fan-sheng/凡聖), is a term used to contrast those who have entered the initial stages of either the small vehicle or the great vehicle with deluded, ordinary folk.

1-8. The three worlds refers to the threefold world of unenlightened men: 1) the world of desire, whose inhabitants have appetite and sexual desire; 2) the world of form, whose inhabitants have neither appetite nor sexual desire; and 3) the formless world, whose inhabitants have no physical forms.

1-9. "Illusions" here refers to the term fan-nao (煩惱). It is defined as those mental functions which disturb the mind, divisible into basic and derivative types. The fundamental or basic illusions are enumerated in the Vijñānavada as covetousness, anger, ignorance, arrogance, doubt, and false views. There is no fixed list for minor or secondary illusions. The Abhidharma lists nineteen: idleness, indolence, unbeleif, low-spiritedness, restlessness, shamelessness, non-bashfulness, anger, concealment, parsimony, envy, affliction, injury, enmity, deceit, fraudelence, arrogance, drowsiness, and remorse.

1-10. The term "pond of purity" can also be found in the Tun-huang text, the Ta-ch'eng ju-tao tz'u-ti k'ai-chüeh T. 85-2823, p. 1208b. There, the four kinds of unhindered speech and the various dhāraṇis, because they are able to quench the burning anguish of sentient beings, are likened to attaining purity by entering a pond and taking a bath. Consequently, they are analogous to a pure pond. According to Nakamura, Bukkyōgo daijiten 721b, the term for purity here (ch'ing-liang/清涼) is an adjective for Nirvāṇa, so that "pond of purity" must mean Nirvāna. A similar usage for the term can be found in ch. 13 of the Ta-chih-tu lun (T. 25-1509, p. 153c). In ch. 3 of the Fa-hua hsüan-i, it says: "With the eye of wisdom and feet which practice, one arrives at the pure, refreshing pond" T. 33-1716, p. 715b).

1-11. "True emptiness and wonderous existence", refers to the denial that everything is empty, and affirmation that all things as they are possess a wonderous existence. The state of true emptiness is attained through removing all erroneous imagination. The state of wonderous existence is the state which is permanent and unchanging. It is a state attained

when all phenomena and forms of existence are observed in their real nature (see the Hua-yen yu-hsin fa-chieh chi, T. 45-1877, pp. 649c-650a).

1-12. This sentence also appears in Chih-i's Fa hua hsüan-i, T. 33-1716, p. 801b. It appears in the same section of this work that the Fa-hua wan-shan t'ung-kuei chi is discussed.

1-13. The Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā (T. 8-223).

1-14. "All-knowing wisdom" is defined as equivalent to Buddhahood; the wisdom which knows all varieties of things; Buddha-wisdom which knows myriad existences individually; complete wisdom, or simply the wisdom of the Buddha (see the Ta-ch'eng hsüan lun, T. 45-1853, p. 55a).

1-15. The term here for "activities," is tso-yeh (作業), which more literally refers to karma-creating activities--good and evil deeds and behaviour which serve as primary causes for receiving joy and suffering in recompense (see the Chung lun, T. 30-1564, pp. 12b-c, 21c).

1-16. "Special marks," (hsiang-hao/相好) refers to the 32 principal (hsiang/lakṣana) and 80 subsidiary (hao/anuvyañjana) marks or characteristics said to adorn a Buddha's body.

1-17. Variant reading has fa (法) instead of fo (佛).

1-18. From the "Ten Stages" section of the Hua-yen ching (Daśabhūmi-svaro nāma mahāyāna sūtra) T 10-279, pp. 196a-196b. The quotation concerns the seventh stage of the ten stages for developing Buddha-wisdom.

1-19. T. 14-475, p. 545c. It appears in the context of a teaching expounded by Vimalakirti to Manjuśri on the occasion of the latter paying a visit to the former, who is supposedly ill (see Etienne Lamotte, The Teaching of Vimalakirti, pp. 129-30).

Practicing "not doing," (wu-tso) refers to "non-activity", natural or spontaneous activity. Practicing "non-arising," (wu-ch'i) refers to refraining from causes that might produce karmic effects (see the Wei-mo ching, T. 14-475, p. 539b and p. 554c).

1-20. "No thought" (wu-nien/無念) is a term which is

widely used in Ch'an literature. According to Yampolsky (The Platform Sutra, pp. 137-8, n. 69), "it is considered one of the most important and characteristic elements in the teaching of the Sixth Patriarch." It also appears prominently in the works of Shen-hui. In the Platform Sutra, it appears in the following context: "Good friends, in this teaching of mine, from ancient times up to the present, all have set up no-thought as the main doctrine, non-form as the substance, and non-abiding as the basis. Non-form is to be separated from form even when associated with form. No-thought is not to think even when involved in thought. Non-abiding is the original nature of man," as well as in other places. In the works of Shen-hui there are the following references. In the T'an-yü (Hu Shih, "Hsin-chiao-ting te Tun-huang hsieh-pen Shen-hui ho-shang i-chu liang-chung" Chung-kuo chung-yang yen-chiu-yüan li-shih yü-yen yen-chiu-suo chi-k'an, XXIX, Feb. 1958, p. 832) it says: "True Reality is the substance of no-thought. For this reason I have set up no-thought as the main doctrine." In the Hsien-tsung chi (Hu Shih, Shen-hui ho-shang i-chi, p. 193) it says: "Thought is to concentrate on True Reality." Yampolsky also points out that "wu-nien is used in the Ta-ch'eng ch'i-hsin lun, T. 32, p. 576b, the apocryphal Chin-kang san-mei ching, T. 9, p. 369a, and in the Li-tai fa-pao chi, where it is dealt with in detail (T. 51, pp. 185a, 192a-b, 195ab-c)." It also appears prominently in the literature of the Prajñāpāramitā (see Lamotte, op. cit. pp. LXXVII-LXXXI). A useful discussion of wu-nien and li-nien (note 1-21 below) is found in Yanagida Seizan, Mu no tankyu.

1-21. (li-nien) This is a term which plays an important role in the literature of Northern Ch'an. It is listed as one of the five expedient means of that school in the Ta-ch'eng wu-sheng fang-pien men (T. 85-2834) and the Ta-ch'eng wu fang-pien pei-tsung (Ui Hakuju, Zenshūshi kenkyū, v. I, pp. 468-511 and D. T. Suzuki, Suzuki Daisetsu Zenshu, v. III, pp. 190-212 and 221-235). The meaning of the term derives from its usage in the Ta-ch'eng ch'i-hsin lun (Awakening of Faith): "The substance of Mind is free from thoughts. The characteristic of that which is free from thoughts (li-nien) is analogous to that of the sphere of empty space that pervades everywhere...(Since the substance of Mind is) grounded on the Dharmakāya, it is called original enlightenment." (T 32-1666, p. 576b; the

translation, with minor variation, is according to Hakeda, The Awakening of Faith, p. 37). For Northern Ch'an adherents it indicated the pure undefiled mind which is free from conceptualizing activities, and thus the state of mind which is able to respond without reifying reality--enlightenment itself (see Robert Zeuschner, "The Understanding of Mind in the Northern Line of Ch'an (Zen)", Philosophy East and West 28, no. 1, Jan. 1978, pp. 69-79). The term was used polemically by adherents of the Southern School who championed wu-nien in its place (For a discussion, see Tanaka Ryosho and Furuta Shokin, Enō, pp. 225-230).

1-22. Source unknown. Regarding "one thought", see note I-28 above.

NO. 6

6-1. (ting-shui/定水). This is a term which likens the calmness of the mind in meditation to still water. External conditions are likened to waves which disturb the stillness of the water (see the Ch'an-tsung yung-chia chi, T. 48-2013, p. 389c).

6-2. The point here is that one needs both the tranquil practice of meditation and the active cultivation of conventional Buddhist virtues (i.e. the myriad good deeds) in order to fulfill the requisites of true Buddhist cultivation.

6-3. Vimilakīrtinirdeśa-sūtra, ch. 2; T. 14-475, p. 539c. Slight variation with the T. text.

6-4. (yu-wei/有爲) refers to all phenomena produced through causation (Sanskrit, saṃskṛta), as opposed to wu-wei, that which is not created, i.e., the eternal, unchanging, and pure (asaṃskṛta). That which is created or produced by causes is perforce impermanent and therefore connected with suffering. Thus, wu-wei refers to such Buddhist ideals as nirvāṇa, bodhi, Buddhahood, the tathata, etc. (see the Chin-kang ching, T 8-235, p. 752b).

6-5. Op.cit., ch. 11; T. 14-475, p. 554c.

6-6. (nieh-p'an chih fu/涅槃之縛). This expression describes those who follow the small vehicle, as they desire to attain nirvāṇa without benefitting

sentient beings. In the Chin-kang san-mei ching (T. 9-273), the Buddha is reputed to have said that "to constantly dwell in nirvāṇa is to be chained to nirvāṇa (nieh-p'an fu)." (Ting Fu-pao, Fo-hsüeh ta tzu tien, 901b.)

6-7. (chieh-t'o chih k'eng/解脫之坑). This term is used to describe those practitioners who firmly cling to the state of liberation, and so are unable to engage in those practices which might assist others. In ch. 13 of the Ta-chi ching (Mahā-samnipāta-sūtra, T. 13-397), the Bodhisattva Bu-k'o-shuo says: "Good sons! To illustrate, it is like a man falling into a deep pit. This man is incalpable of saving oneself in order to save others. Sravakas and pratyeka buddhas are like this as well. They fall into the pit of liberation, and are incapable of saving themselves and thereby saving others" (Ting Fu-pao, 1219b-c).

6-8. Reading 甘 as 柑, according to Chung-hua ta tzu-tien, p. 1151d.

NO. 10

10-1. (ch'u-mu p'u-ti/觸目菩提). This is a Ch'an Buddhist term, appearing in ch. 9 of the CTCTL, T. 51, p. 356b.

10-2. (shih-hsiang tao-ch'ang/事相道場). Shih-hsiang refer to concrete practices, confession, recitation, etc., necessary for understanding and actualizing one's realization. The term is intended to contrast with ch'u-mu p'u-ti referred to above (see the Chin-kang ting yu-chia chung lueh ch'u nien-sung ching, T 18-866, p. 251a).

10-3. (ching-ti/淨地). There are different nuances to this term. In the Szu-fen lü. ch. 43 (T 22-1428, p. 874c), it is regarded as the place where one sets food (for offerings?). According to Ting Fu-pao, Fo-hsüeh ta-tzu-tien, 992b, the place where bhikṣus dwell in a state free from sin is termed ching-ti. There is also mention of a teaching which instructs bhikṣus to purify this place. Thus, I take the term to refer to the place (i.e., temple or monastery) where monks reside and keep in a state of purity by following the precepts, worshipping, practicing, etc.

10-4. (chien-li/建立). According to Nakamura, Bukkyōgo daijiten 424b, the term designates the conditions or situation for encouraging the supreme aspiration.

10-5. I read the term ts'e-fa (策發) as similar in meaning to ts'e-chin (策進).

10-6. In the T'ien-t'ai school, the "Perfect Teaching" represents the fourth and final phase, the completion and perfection of Buddhist teaching, as compared to the three earlier phases: the san-tsang chiao, or hinayāna; the t'ung-chiao, or proto-mahāyāna; and the pieh-chiao, or mahāyāna. The "Perfect Teaching" itself has two divisions in its teaching. The "unrevealed" Perfect Teaching was preached in the Hua-yen ching, the Fang-teng ching, and the P'an-jo ching, while the "pure" Perfect Teaching is said to have been preached in the Fa-hua ching according to the T'ien-t'ai school (see the Mo-ho chih-kuan, ch. 5B; T. 46-1911, p. 61b-c).

10-7. (fa-jen/法忍). This term may possess a wide variety of nuances according to the context of its usage. It may indicate the decisive mind which perceives with certainty, occurring prior to attaining Dharma-wisdom (dharma-kṣānti). It may indicate the repose obtained in true enlightenment. Or, it may refer to the enduring of austerities. To the first meaning here, Ting Fu-pao, op. cit., 696b adds that it constitutes the ranks of those severing delusions and is included in the cause (of enlightenment), while wisdom is of the ranks of those realizing li and included in the effect. The implication is that in order to realize li, the enlightened effect, one must engage in those activities which serve as the cause.

10-8. (wu-hui/五悔). The "five repentances" are practiced by those who cultivate the "Lotus samādhi" in the T'ien-t'ai school. They are: (1) exposing one's past sins and forbidding them in future, (2) appealing the tathāgatas of the ten directions to turn the Dharma-wheel, (3) rejoicing over all the good deeds done by oneself and others, (4) transferring all the good roots which one cultivates to sentient beings and the Buddha path, and (5) issuing forth the four universal vows of a Buddha or Bodhisattva (to save all beings; to put an end to all passions and delusions; to study and learn all methods and means; to perfect the unsurpassable law

of the Buddha), and initiating the four practices (enlightenment, good deeds, wisdom, and worship) (see the Mo-ho chih-kuan, T. 46-1911, ch. 78, p. 98a).

10-9. According to Nakamura, 751b, the "teaching" (literally vehicle, ch'eng/乘) is the teaching for realizing Truth, and the precepts (chieh/戒) are for the purpose of extracting evil (see the Mo-ho chih-kuan, T. 46-1911, ch. 4A, p. 39a).

10-10. (ch'u-chu/初住). Specifically, this indicates the initial stage of the ten stages of Bodhisattva cultivation. These ten are: (1) attainment of the truth, (2) seeing śūnyatā, (3) performing good deeds, (4) seeing selflessness, (5) doing good, (6) obtianing prajña, (7) never sliding back, (8) having no more illusions, (9) becoming a son of the Buddha, and (10) annihilating life and death. Among the fifty-two ranks of practice, the ten stages constitute numbers 11 through 20.

10-11. Untraced. The Mo-ho chih-kuan (T. 46-1911), along with the Fa-hua hsüan-i (T. 33-1716) and the Fa-hua wen-chü (T. 34-1718), form the three principal texts of the T'ien-t'ai school. These works contain the teaching of Chih-i, as recorded by his disciple, Kuan-ting. The reference here would appear to be a summary rather than a direct citation.

10-12. (shih-fang li-hsiang/指方立相). The literal rendering of the term is "to recognize geographical direction and distinct form". I follow the way in which it is understood in the Pure Land School, in reference to the location of Amitābha's paradise in the West (see the Kuan wu-liang-shou fo ching-shu, T. 37-1753, p. 267b).

10-13. "Three-fold contemplation" is interpreted differently according to Buddhist schools. The most widely known is the interpretation of the T'ien-t'ai school as the means to realize the three kinds of truth in T'ien-t'ai doctrine: (1) that all existence is non-substantial and void (kung), (2) that all existence is non-substantial, but nevertheless has a provisional reality (chia), and (3) that all existence is neither void nor provisionally real, but has a truth transcending this dichotomy, the truth of the Middle Way (chung). However, neither those nor any otherr definitions of the "three-fold contemplation" that I

am aware of seem to fit the context of the contemplation of the Buddha's image, as the term is used in the WSTKC text.

The Buddha's treasure image is simply an image of the Buddha formed from various treasured materials (see the Fa-hua ching, T. 9-262, p. 9b).

10-14. The Shang-tu i is an abbreviation of the Shang-tu yün-hua szu yang-tzu ta-kuan fa-shih feng-ta huang-t'ai-tzu suo-wen chu-ching liao-i, which seems to be no longer extant. For a reference, consult the Nipponkoku showa gonen nitto kyuho mokuroku (T. 55-2165). A similar quotation appears in Shan-tao's Kuan wu-liang-shou fu ching-shu, ch. 3, T. 37-1753, p. 367b. This quotation, as it appears here, is also cited in ch. 8 of the Hsi-fang ho-lun, T. 47-1976, p. 411c, except for the last paragraph, which has been tentatively included as part of the quoted material owing to its consistence with the preceding.

10-15. Untraced.

10-16. (ch'ih/癡) is one of the three poisons in Buddhism, listed as covetousness, anger, and ignornace or stupidity (ch'ih).

10-17. (kuan-hsin/觀心). This refers to the general mental/meditative discipline employed in Buddhism to understand and illuminate the original nature of one's own mind. It is especially used in the T'ien-t'ai school (see the Fa-hua hsüan-i, T 33-1716, p. 685c).

10-18. This quotation also appears in the Hsi-fang ho-lun, ch. 8; T. 47-1976, p. 411c. It is difficult to ascertain where the quotation should end. What is incuded here corresponds to the Hsi-fang ho-lun, but portions of what follows may very well be incuded in it.

10-19. Dharma assemblies are either gatherings to recite sutras, or gatherings to provide offerings to the buddhas and bodhisattvas, to give food to monks or common folk, to conduct preaching, and so on, for carrying out Buddhist activities and essentials for maintaining the Dharma (see the Shih-sung lu, T 23-1435, p. 220a). "Ascertains the benevolent protection of Buddhas and Bodhisattva with the hands," refers most likely to ritualized prayer

undertaken by the faithful in order to evoke the sympapthetic, compassionate response of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas (see Nakamura 146a-b, esp. no. 4).

10-20. Translation of chieh-te (戒德) according to Nakamura, Bukkyōgo daijiten, 165b. Virtue makes following the precepts possible.

NO. 15

15-1. (ju-shuo hsiu-hsing/如說修行). This statement appears in ch. 18, "The Merits of Appropriate Joy", chpater of the Lotus sūtra (Fa-hua ching). (T. 9-262, p. 47a.)

15-2. Specifically, secondary aids for the purpose of attaining enlightenment.

15-3. Anapana sutra; T. 15-602, p. 163a. This is from the preface by Kan Seng-hui, who makes an analogy between the thoughts reaped by the active, unrestrained mind and farmers planting seeds with no idea of the amount of produce they will reap from them.The translation has been augmented on the basis of this.

15-4. Ch. 21; T. 9-262, p. 51c. Hurvitz, p. 286.

15-5. (mieh-tu/滅度) literally, extinguishing (illusion) and passing over (to nirvāṇa). (See the P'an ni-yüan ching, T. 1-6, p. 183c.)

NO. 34

34-1. Judging from contemporary historical documents (Emperor Shih Tsung's proscription of Buddhism in 955 (WTHY 12/CWTS 115/HWTS 12), materials collected in monk's biographies as well as Tsan-ning's own opinions in the SKSC), self-immolation was more than an idle issue for Yen-shou and his contemporaries. For Tsan-ning's, as well as other Chinese Buddhist views on this issue, see Jan Yün-hua's article: "Buddhist Self-Immolation in Medieval China," History of Religions 4 (1965).

34-2. T. 24-1484, p. 1006a; ending abbreviated from T. version.

34-3. lou/漏) is that which flows ceaselessly out from the six sense-organs; another name for fan-nao (klesa) (see the Wei-mo ching, T. 14-475, p. 542a).

34-4. ch. 6; T. 19-945, p. 132b. The last sentence here seems to be referring to an episode of the Buddha in a previous life. I have been unable to trace such an occurrence; the translation is tentative.

34-5. Untraced (T. 30-1582/1583).

34-6. Source uncertain (perhaps from the same source as above).

34-7. "Sutras that reveal the whole truth" and those "spoken according to the capcaities of others" translate contrasting technical terms, liao-i ching and sui-i shuo.

NO. 50

50-1. Ch. 2; T. 12-374, p. 375b.

50-2. The "Middle Treatise" of Nāgārjuna, ch. 4; T. 30-1564, p. 33a.

50-3. I-chū (一句); this is a term used in the Ch'an school. I have translated it according to Nakamura, Op. cit., 56c.

50-4. Ch. 19; T. 12-374, p. 477c.

50-5. Source unknown. (Ono, Bussho kaisetsu daijiten, has no mention of this.)

50-6. "I pay homage to the Buddha."

50-7. Ch. 7; T. 25-1509, p. 112c. the first sentence in the WSTKC quote does not appear in T.

50-8. See note I-27.

50-9. The story of the meeting of Emperor Wu of the Liang Dynasty with Bodhidharam derives from the sources of Shen-hui (See Hu Shih, Shen-hui ho-shang i-chi, p. 160). It also appears in the T'an ching, attributed to Hui-neng, as follows:

(The prefect said): "I have heard that, when

Bodhidharma was converting Emperor Wu of Liang, the emperor asked Bodhidharma: 'I have spent my whole life up to now building temples, giving alms, and making offerings. Have I gained merit or not?' and that Bodhidharma answered saying: 'No merit.' Then the emperor was greatly disappointed and banished Bodhidharma across the border. I don't understand this story and beg of you to explain it."

The Sixth Patriarch said: "Indeed he gained no merit. Do not doubt the words of Bodhidharma. The emperor was attached to a heterodox way and did not know the true Dharma."

(From Yampolsky, The Platform Sutra, sec. 34, p. 155.)

50-10. Source unknown.

50-11. This line, with minor alteration, appears in the biography of Hui-chung found in ch. 5 of the CTCTL (T. 51-2076). The remainder of the quotation is untraced. Hui-chung (?-775) was a student of Hui-neng.

50-12. Source unknown. A person referred to as Dharma master Sheng appears in the biography of Chen-kuan, HKSC ch. 30 (T. 50-2060, p. 702a), but takes part in no conversation there. The meaning of the original is obscure in places and the translation tentative.

50-13. (ju-lai tsang/如來藏). Tathāgata-garbha; the Buddha-nature inherent in all sentient beings (see the Pao-hsing lun, T. 31, p. 821a, etc.).

50-14. Source unknown.

50-15. Source unknown.

50-16. (hua-pao/華報). "Flower-rewards" refer to recompense received in this world (see the Kuan-ting ching, T 21-1331, p. 534a).

50-17. (Kuo-pao/果報). "Fruit-rewards" refer to recompense received in future as a result present acts and deeds (see ibid.).

50-18. Source uncertain.

50-19. The meaning of the original is obscrue here. I take it as indicating that one gains control over bodhi

with good deeds in the same way that one controls a sword or torch by grabbing on to their respective handles.

50-20. Ching-ch'i is a reference to Chan-jan (711-782), patriarch in the T'ien-t'ai school. His biography is recorded in ch. 6 of the SKSC; T. 50-2061, pp. 739b-740a. The lines cited here are untraced. The rendering of *hsiang-hsin* (相心) as "contemplation" is according to Nakamura, *op. cit.*, 867c.

50-21. A *nayuta kalpa* is an Indian unit of time, of inconceivably long duration.

50-22. T. 12-380, pp. 958c-959b (WSTKC summarizes T. version here).

50-23. Ch. 5; T. 14-475, p. 545b.

50-24. The three contemplations of one-mind refers to the teaching of contemplation in the T'ien-t'ai school--simultaneous realization of the three contemplations in the mind. See note 10-13.

50-25. See note I-27.

50-26. Source unknown.

50-27. Source unknown.

50-28. The meaning of the original is obscure here; the translation is tentative.

50-29. The "six stages for unification (with Oneness)" are stages that Bodhisattvas must pass through during their progress toward enlightenment. By name, the six are: the principle of *li*, the principle of names, the principle of contemplation-practice, the principle of form-appearance, the principle of partial realization, and the principle of ultimate realization. See the *Mo-ho chih-kuan* (T. 46-1911, p. 106), and the *Fa-hua hsüan-i* (T. 33-1716, p. 693a).

50-30. The ten Bodhisattva practices are: *pramudita* (joy at benefitting oneself and others), *vimala* (freedom from all possible defilement), *prabhakarin* (emission of the light of wisdom), *arcismati* (glowing wisdom), *sudurjaya* (overcoming utmost difficulty), *abhimukhin* (realization of wisdom), *duramgama* (proceeding far),

acala (attainment of immobility), sadhumati (attainment of expedient wisdom), and dharma-megha (the ability to spread the teachings over the dharma-dhatu as clouds overspread the sky). (See the Shih-ti section of the Hua-yen ching, T. 10-279, chapters 34-39, pp. 178-210).

NO. 62

62-1. T. 85-2902, p. 1435a.

62-2. (chi-hsin wu-hsin/即心無心). This phrase also apears in the TCL (T. 48-2016, pp. 681c, 939c), where it is attributed to Bodhidharma.

62-3. These lines are cited from Fa-tsang's Hua-yen ching-i hai-pai men, T. 45-1875, p. 627b.

62-4. Ch. 14; T. 13-397, p. 98a.

62-5. T. 16-663.

62-6. The meaning of this sentence is unclear; the translation tentative.

62-7. The eighteen unique characteristics of a Buddha are: 1) faultlessness in body, 2) faultlessness in speech, 3) faultlessness in meditation, 4) no partiality in leading people to perfection, 5) the mind always being in a state of profound meditation, whether walking, standing, sitting, or lying down; 6) omniscience, 7) never growing tired of leading people, 8) no cessation in helping people, 9) no cessation in meditating on every law in the three periods of time, 10) unceasing maintenance of perfect wisdom, 11) being emancipated and always free from all attachment, 12) clear and free function of intelligence in emancipation, 13) excellent bodily function preceded by wisdom, in teaching people and bringing them to perfection, 14) excellent oral function preceded by wisdom, in preaching to people with wonderful and pure speech, 15) excellent mental function preceded by wisdom, in preaching with a stainless mind and cutting away the veils of affliction, 16) unrestricted function of mind in knowing the past, 17) in knowing the future, and 18) in knowing the present.

62-8. Untraced.

NO. 78

78-1. A variant reading has "Confucianists, Taoists, hermits, and ancestors".

78-2. Reading chu (助) for lieh (劣).

78-3. Source unknown; but obviously from an apocryphal Buddhist source.

78-4. Untraced; tje Hsi-sheng ching is a Taoist text.

78-5. Untraced. A no longer extant work compiled by Fu Lang of the Chin Dynasty (265-420) referred to in the Yü-han shan-fang chi i-shu 88.

78-6. From ch. 4 of the Lieh-tzu; see the Lieh-tzu hsuan-chi san-chung, pp. 111ff., pp. 388ff., or pp. 644ff. (Chung-kuo tzu-hsueh ming-chu ch'i ch'eng 064). Following A. C. Graham (tr.), The Book of Lieh Tzu, p. 78. The last lines here can also be found in the Lun-yü, Bk. VIII-19.

78-7. Untraced. The Wu-shu comprises the last twenty chapters of the San-kuo chih (chapters 46-65). K'an Tse's biography is found in Wu-shu ch. 8. Sun Chuan's is in Wu-shu ch. 2.

78-8. Source unknown. The Ch'ing-ching fa-hsing ching (quoted in ch. 13 of the Hai-lü-tsu-shih) also claims: "The Buddha dispatched three disciples to China to convert. As for Ju-t'ung Bodhisattva, he is called Confucius. Ching-kuang, he is called Yen-hui. Mo-ho-chia-she, he is called Lao-tzu." Ju-t'ung is Manavaka.

78-9. After the Sui Dynasty, the five punishments throughout pre-modern china were: (1) the death penalty, administered either by hanging or beheading; (2) banishment, of distances of either 1,000; 1,500; or 2,000 li; (3) imprisonment, of terms ranging from 1 to 3 years; (4) caning, with the number of strikings ranging from 50 to 100; and (5) flogging, with the number of strikings ranging from 10 to 50 (Sui-shu, "Hsing-fa chih" chapter). The meaning of the last sentences here are unclear; the translation is tentative.

NO. 97

97-1. This passage (see Gokyō sakuin, p. 39) found in the I-ching 21-43.

97-2. "The Books of Shang", Bk. IV, ch. 3-8 (Legge, p. 198; Gokyō sakuin, p. 59). "Shang-ti" is the "God on high" of the early Chinese tradition.

97-3. The six classics of Confucianism refer to the Books of Poetry (Shih-ching), History (Shu-ching), Rites (Li-ching), Change (I-ching), the Spring and Autumn Annals (Ch'un-ch'iu), and the no longer extant Book of Music (Yüeh-ching).

97-4. The five precepts are: not to take life, not to take what is not given one, not to commit adultery, not to tell lies,and not to drink intoxicants.

97-5. The ten good deeds are the counterparts of the ten evil deeds, and are thus characterized: 1) not to kill, 2) not to steal, 3) not to commit adultery, 4) not to lie, 5) not to use immoral language, 6) not to slander, 7) not to equivocate, 8) not to covet, 9) not togive way to anger, and 10) not to hold false views.

97-6. Untraced. The biography of Emperor Wen is in ch. 5 of the Sung-shu (I have been unable to find reference to this conversation there).

NO. 98

98-1. (hui-shen/慧身). The collected body of wisdom; one of the five aspects of the Dharma-body (Wu-chiao chang, T. 45-1866, p. 505c).

98-2. Source unknown.

98-3. Source unknown.

98-4. The aspects of the mind as "True Suchness" and "birth and death" are discussed extensively in the Ch'i-hsin lun (T 32-1666, p. 576a ff.).

98-5. For the three poisons, see note 10-16.

98-6. The six supernatural powers gained by a Buddha or an Arhat through meditation and wisdom are: free activity, eyes capable of seeing everything, ears

capable of hearing everything, insight into others thinking, remembrance of former states of existence, and perfect freedom.

98-7. Source unknown.

98-8. Source unknown.

98-9. Ch. 14; T. 10-279, p. 69b-c.

98-10. The three states of existence (san-yu/三有) here refers to the three worlds of unenlightened beings, the worlds of desire, form, and formlessness, equivalent in meaning to san-chieh (see the Mi-le ch'eng-fo ching, T 14-456, p. 428c).

98-11. A gatha in ch. 2; T. 16-682, p. 757a-b. Some alteration from T.

98-12. Reading chih (止) as chih (只).

98-13. This statement appears in the Wei-mo ching, T. 14-475, p. 547c, in the context of a dicussion between Vimalakirti and Manjusri (the Wei-mo ching passage is cited by Yen-shou in the TCL, T. 48-2016, p. 456c). There, "the root of distorted perception is the absence of a basis" (Lamotte, p. 160); I have altered the translation of the passage to better suit the context in which it appears in the WSTKC. It is also possible that the sentence following this should be incuded in the quotation, but I have been unable to trace this to a source that would allow me to do so.

APPENDIX II

The Origins of Sources Cited in the Wan-Shan T'ung-Kuei Chi

Chüan One Introduction (T. 48, p. 958a-c)

958b P'an-jo ching T 5-220, untraced.

Hua-yen ching T 10-279, pp. 339b-340a.

Ku-te, Source unknown.

NO. 1 (pp. 958c-959a)

958c Tsu-shih, see CTCTL, ch. 5, T 51, p. 236a.

Nieh-p'an ching T 1-7, p. 204c.

Fa-hua..., see the Fa-hua hsüan-i, T 33-1716, p. 801b.

Ta-p'in..., T 8-223.

959a Wei-mo ching T 14-475, p. 545c.

Ku-te, Source Unknown.

NO. 2 (p. 959a)

re: the question statement, see the Ch'an-yüan chu-ch'üan-chi tu-hsü, T 48-2015, p. 402c.

Ts'ao-hsi, see the Ch'uan-hsin fa-yao (Iriya Yoshitaka, Zen no goroku 8, pp. 85-90.

"fei-hsin fei-fo" ("Not mind, not Buddha"), see T 51, p. 246a.

The foolish man of the state of Ch'u incident is found in the "T'ien-tao" chapter of the _Yin-wen tzu_.

The small lad at spring pond incident is untraced.

NO. 3 (p. 959a-b)

The teaching of a "single-flavour" appears in the "Medicinal herbs" chapter of the _Fa-hua ching_.

959b _Hua-yen ching_, untraced. (This would seem to refer to the "_Hua-tsang shih-chieh_" section (T 10-279, pp. 39-53) where the "lotus treasure-world" is discussed).

NO. 4 (pp. 959b-960a)

Ching, untraced (the latter part of the second reference is found in the "Skillful Means" chapter of the _Fa-hua ching_, T 9-262, p. 7a.

Ching-ming ching, T 14-475, p. 545a.

Chin-kang san-mei ching T 9-273, the quotation as cited here does not appear.

Ch'i-hsin lun, T 32-1666, pp. 580c-581a.

959c Niu-t'ou Fa-jung, untraced.

Hsien-te, Source unknown; (also found in the _Hsi-fang ho-lun_, T 47-1976, p. 412b).

Hsien-shou (Fa-tsang), untraced; (also cited in

Hsi-fang ho lun, T 47-1976, p. 412b).

NO. 5 (p. 960a-b)

960a Hua-yen ching T 10-279, p. 185c, 127c, 132a, 225c.

960b Ta-chih-tu lun T 25-1509, untraced; p. 249b.

NO. 6 (p. 960b-c)

960c Ching-ming ching T 14-475, p. 539c, 554c.

NO. 7 (pp. 960c-961a)

Hua-yen ching "li-shih chien" chapter, T 10-279, p. 285b.

NO. 8 (p. 961a)

961a (Shou-) leng-yen ching T 19-945, p. 122b.

Fa-chū ching T 85-2901, p. 1432 b-c.

Hua-yen ching T 10-279, p. 217b.

NO. 9 (p. 961a)

"jen-yūn t'eng-t'eng wu-hsin"; see the Wan-ling lu (Iriya Yoshitaka, Zen no goroku 8, p. 135).

Ku-te, untraced.

NO. 10 (p. 961 a-b)

"ch'u-mu p'u-ti"; see the CTCTL, T 51, p. 356b.

961b Chih-kuan T 46-1911, untraced.

Shang-tu yi, no longer extant (Similar quotation appears in the kuan wu-liang-shou fo ching-shu T 37-1753, p. 367b and the Hsi-fang ho-lun T 47-1976, p. 411c).

Ta chih-tu lun, untraced.

T'ien-t'ai chih-che, untraced; (also cited in Hsi-fang ho-lun T 47-1976, p. 411c).

NO. 11 (p. 961b-c)

Chin-kang p'an-jo ching T 8-235, p. 752a.

961c Hua-yen ching, untraced.

Fa-hua ching, T 9-262, p. 27b.

Ta nieh-p'an ching T 12-375, p. 392a.

NO. 12 (pp. 961c-962a)

"chi-hsin shih fo", see the Ma-tsu yü lü, HTC 119, p. 407c.

Ku-te, source unknown

Ching-ming ching T 14-475, p. 537a.

Chih-che ta-shih, untraced.

Ching, source unknown.

NO. 13 (p. 962a-c)

962a *ching*, source unknown.

ching, source unknown

ching, source unknown.

ching (Fa-hua) T 9-262, p. 9a.

ching, source unknown.

Pao-chi ching T 11-310, untraced.

Wen-shu p'an-jo ching T 8-232, ~~untraced.~~

Ta chih-tu lun, untraced.

Ta-p'in, untraced.

Tseng-i a-han ching, see T2-125, p. 740a.

Hua-yen ching T 10-279, p. 334c.

962b *Kao-sheng nien-fo san-mei pao-wang lun* T 47-1967, p. 134a.

Yeh-pao ch'a-pieh ching T 1-80, untraced.

Ch'ün-i lun, see T 47-1960, p. 38b-c; also p. 72ff.

Ta-chi ching T 13-397, p. 285c.

P'an-jo ching, see T 8-232, p. 731a-b.

NO. 14 (pp. 962c-963a)

962c *Mo-ho lun* T 32-1668, untraced.

Ta chih-tu lun T 25-1509, p. 369b.

(T'ien)-t'ai chiao, source unknown.

Fa-hua ching, see T 9-262, p. 46c.

963a ching, source unknwon.

Nan-shan Kan-t'ung chuan T 45-1898, untraced.

P'u-hsien kuan ching, see T 9-277, p. 393b-c.

Ta p'an-jo ching T 8-231, p. 698c.

Hsien-yü ching T 4-202, p. 373a-b.

NO. 15 (p. 963a-b)

963b An-p'an shou-i ching T 15-602, p. 163a.

Fa-hua ching T 9-262, p. 51c.

NO. 16 (pp. 963b-964a)

963c Ching, source unknown.

Tzu-min san-ts'ang, untraced.

(T'ien-) t'ai chiao, see the Mo-ho chih-kuan T 46-1911.

Chin-kan san-mei ching T9-273, p. 368a.

Fa-chü ching T 85-2902, p. 1435a.

Ch'i-hsin lun T 32-1666, pp. 582c-83a.

Nan-yüeh Fa-hua ch'an, see the Fa-hua an-ho hsing-i T 46-1926, p. 698b.

Chih-che, see the Hsü kao-seng chuan, ch. 21.

NO. 17 (p. 964a-b)

964a Ta chih-tu lun T 25-1509, p. 137a.

Szu-shih-erh chang ching, see T 17-784, p. 724a.

Nan-chuan ta-shih, also cited in the Hsi-fang ho-lun T 47-1976, p. 411c.

Pai-chang ho-shang, also cited in the Hsi-fang ho-lun T 47-1976, pp. 411c-412a.

Fa-hua ch'an, see the Fa-hua san-mei ch'an-i T 46-1941, p. 950a.

P'u hsien kuan ching, summary of T 9-277, p. 393b-c.

964b ching, source unknown.

Jao-t'a kung-te ching, see T 16-700, p. 802b.

Hua-yen ch'an, untraced.

Nan-shan hsing-tao i, untraced.

ching, source unknown.

NO. 20 (p. 964b)

ching, source unknown.

NO. 21 (p. 964b-c)

lun, source unknown.

chieh, source unknown.

964c Yeh-pao ch'a-pieh ching, T 1-80, p. 894c.

San-ts'ang Le-na, source unknown.

Wen-shu, Source unknown.

Fa-hua ch'an, see T 46-1941, p. 950b.

NO. 22 (pp. 964c-965a)

Wen-shu, source unknown.

NO. 23 (p. 965a)

ching, source unknown.

NO. 24 (p. 965a-b)

(Shou) leng-yen ching T 19-945, p. 130b.

Fa-chü ching T 85-2901, p. 1435a.

Ching-ming ching T 14-475, p. 545b.

Ta p'an-jo ching, untraced.

Hua-yen ching T 10-279, p. 72c.

965b Sa-che-ni-ch'ien-tzu ching T 9-272, p. 359a.

Yueh-teng san-mei ching T 15-639, untraced; also cited in the Szu-fen lü-hsing shih T 40-1804, p. 5a.

Ta chih-tu lun T 25-1509, p. 153b and 153c.

Ta nieh-p'an ching T 12-374; also see the T'ien-t'ai szu-chiao i T 46-1931, p. 775c.

ching, source unknown.

NO. 25 (pp. 965b-966a)

Tsui-sheng-wang ching T 16-665, p. 414c.

965c ching, source unknown.

Mi-le suo-wen pen-ying ching T 12-349, p. 188c.

Ta-chi ching T 13-397, p. 123c.

ching, source unknown.

lun, source unknown.

Pa-sha lun (T 28-1546?), untraced.

Kao-seng chuan, T 50-2060, ch. 20 (under the biography of T'an-ying).

Hui-ssu, Hsü kao seng chuan, T 50-2060, p. 562c.

Chih-che, Hsü kao-seng chuan T 50 2060, p. 564b.

Tao-ch'ao, Hsü hao-seng chuan T 50-2060, p. 472b.

Ying fa-shih, untraced.

Hui-ch'eng, see Fo-tsu t'ung-chi T 49-2035, p. 195b.

ching, source unknown.

ching, source unknown.

966a Nan-yüeh ta-shih, untraced.

NO. 27 (p. 966a-b)

Ching-ming ching T 14-475, p. 541b.

966b Tsu-shih, source unknown.

chiao, source unknown.

Nan-shan szu-fan ch'ao, see T 40-1804, p. 6a

NO. 28 (pp. 966b-967a)

Ju-lai fu-szu-i ching-chieh ching T 10-301, p. 911c.

966c *Ch'i-hsin lun* T 32-1666, p. 583a.

Wang-sheng lun, see T 26-1524, pp. 230c-233a.

Shih-i lun, see T 47-1961, p. 78a-b.

Ch'ün-i lun, see T 47-1960, p. 38b-c.

ching, source unknown.

ching, source unknown.

967a *Mo-ho yen*, untraced.

Hua-yen chieh T 9-278, p. 487c.

NO. 29 (p. 967a)

Na-hsien ching, see T 32-1670, pp. 701c-702a.

Ta chih-tu lun, untraced.

NO. 30 (pp. 967a-968b)

P'an-chou san-mei ching, see T 13-418, p. 905a-c.

967b *Wei-shih lun* T 31-1590, p. 75c.

Ta chih-tu lun, untraced.

An-kuo ch'ao, no longer extant.

967c *Ch'ün-i lun*, see T 47-1960, p. 61a.

968a *Mu-lien suo-wen ching*, passage not contained in T 24-1468; untraced.

Ta-chi yüeh-tsang ching, T 13-397 (15); untraced.

NO. 31 (p. 968b)

968b P'ang chu-shih, untraced.

Ta-chi ching T 13-397, untraced.

Chih-che, see T 50-2060, p. 567b.

Ch'eng-san ching-t'u ching, see T 12-367, p. 350a-c.

NO. 32 (p. 968b-c)

Wei-mo ching T 14-475, p. 553a-b.

NO. 33 (pp. 968c-969a)

968c kuan wu-liang-shou ching, see T 12-365, pp. 340-46.

969a Wei-mo ching T 14-475, untraced and p. 541b

Hua-yen ching T 10-279, p. 51c.

Ta-chi ching, untraced.

Chüan Two Introduction (p. 969a-b)

969b Huan-yüan kuan T 45-1876, p. 638b-c.

(Seng-) chao, untraced.

NO. 34 (p. 969b-c)

Ta-ch'eng fan-wang ching, T 24-1484, p. 1006a.

969c Ta-ch'eng shou-leng-yen ching T 19-945, p. 132b.

P'u-sa shan-chieh ching, untraced.

ching, source unknown.

NO. 35 (pp. 969c-970a)

Ta chih-tu lun, untraced.

970a (T'ien-) t'ai chiao..., see the Fa-hua wen-chu chi, T 34-1719, p. 354c.

Wen-shu wen ching, see T 14-468, p. 503a.

NO. 36 (p. 970a-b)

ching, source unknown.

Hua-yen ching T 10-279, p. 309a.

970b Ta-chi ching, see T 13-397, p. 164a.

P'u-t'i lun, untraced.

ching, source unknown.

Ch'i-hsin lun, untraced.

(T'ien-) t'ai chiao, untraced.

NO. 38 (pp. 970b-971a)

970c Ta chih-tu lun, see T 25-1509, p. 140a-b.

Liu-hsing chi, source unknown.

Fa-hua ching T 9-262, p. 54a.

Ta chih-tu lun, untraced, but see T 25-1509, p. 570a.

Fa-hua ching T 9-262, p. 3a.

NO. 39 (pp. 971a-972a)

ching, source unknown.

P'an-jo lun, untraced.

Kao-seng chuan, T 50-2060, p. 627b.

971b Seng-yai, T 50-2060, p. 679c.

T'ien-t'ai tsung Man ch'an-shih, untraced.

Ching-pien, untraced (biography in HKSC T 50-2060, pp. 676c-677a).

Shuang-lin Fu ta-shih, untraced (appears in biography of Hui-yün, T 50-2060, p. 650b).

ching, source unknown.

971c Shu(-ching?), untraced.

Ta-chih-tu lun, T 25-1509, p. 114b.

ching, source unknown.

972a Chao-lun T 45-1858, p. 153c.

Ta chih-tu lun, untraced, but see T 25-1509, p. 484b.

Leng-chia shan-ting ching, untraced.

NO. 40 (p. 972a-c)

972b Ku-te, source unknown.

ching, source unknown.

Pao-chi ching, T 11-310, pp. 5c-6a.

ching, source unknown.

ching, source unknown.

Shou-leng-yen ching, see T 19-945, p. 132c.

Wu-sheng i, no longer extant.

972c Pao-chi ching T 11-310, untraced.

Fa-hua ching T 9-262, p. 13b.

NO. 41 (p. 972c)

ching, source unknown.

NO. 42 (pp. 972c-973c)

973a Wei-shih lun T 31-1585, p. 39b.

Chin-kang ching, T 8-235, p. 752a.

Hsien-shou kuo-shih, untraced.

Chin-kang san-mei ching, untraced.

Hua-yen ching, untraced; T 10-279, p. 308b.

973b (T'ien-) t'ai chiao, untraced

Ch'ing-liang kuo-shih, untraced.

Ku-te, source unknown.

973c Tzu-min san-ts'ang, T 85-2826, p. 1241a.

Ku-te, source unknown.

Huan-yüan kuan T 45-1876, p. 637c; p. 639b.

Tsu-shih chuan fa chieh, untraced.

NO. 43 (pp. 973c-974a)

Ssu-i ching, see T.15-586, p. 36c.

Leng-chia ching, see T 16-671, p. 519c.

Ku-te, source unknown.

974a P'an-jo ching, untraced.

NO. 44 (p. 974a-b)

ching, source unknown.

ch'i-hsin lun T 32-1666, p. 577a.

Ku-te, source unknown.

Ch'ang-che, source unknown.

974b Pao-chi ching, see T 11-310, p. 5c.

(T'ien-) t'ai chiao, source unknown.

Niu-t'ou Fa-jung, see Chüeh-kuan lun, ch. 2

NO. 45 (P. 974b)

Wen-shu, source unknown.

Lung-shu, source unknown.

Cheng-fa nien ching, untraced.

NO. 46 (p. 974b)

Fa-hua ching, T 9-262, p. 3a.

NO. 47 (p. 974b-c)

974c Hua-yen ching T 10-279, p. 187c.

Fa-hua ching, untraced.

lun, source unknown.

NO. 48 (pp. 974c-975a)

Fa-hua ching T 9-262, p. 5b; p. 60c.

Hua-yen ching, T 10-279, untraced; p. 225b.

975a Ch'i-hsin lun T 32-1666, p. 578c.

Fa-chü ching T 4-211, p. 583c.

Shou-leng-yen ching T 19-945, p. 108b-c.

NO. 49 (p. 975a-b)

(T'ien-) t'ai chiao, untraced.

P'an-jo ching, untraced.

ching, source unknown.

975b Mi-hui yu ching T 17-754, p. 577c.

Ta fang-kuang tsung-ch'ih ching T 9-275, p. 380c.

ching, source unknown.

NO. 50 (pp. 975b-976b)

Nieh-p'an ching T 12-374, p. 375b.

Chung lun T 30-1564, p. 33a.

975c Nieh-p'an ching T 12-374, p. 477c.

Jih ma-ni pao ching, untraced.

Ta chih-tu lun T 25-1509, p. 112c.

Ku-te, source unknown.

(Hui-) chung kuo-shih, CTCTL ch. 5, T 51-2076.

Sheng fa-shih, untraced.

976a (T'ien-) t'ai chiao, source unknown.

Ching-ch'i, untraced.

Fa-hua ching, untraced.

Ta-pei ching, see T 12-380, pp. 958c-959b.

Ching-ming ching T 14-475, p. 545b.

976b Hsien-te, source unknown.

Ku-te, source unknown.

NO. 51 (p. 976b)

Ch'an-men p'i-yao ching, untraced.

Hua-yen ching T 10-279, p. 101a.

NO. 52 (p. 976b-c)

Hua-yen ching T 10-279, p. 307c.

976c (T'ien-) t'ai chiao, source unknown.

Fa-hua ching, T 9-262, p. 36c.

Fa-hua ching, Wei-yin wang fo, see ch. 20

Fa-hua ching, Devadatta, see ch. 12.

Shu (ching?), untraced.

NO. 54 (p. 976c)

Nieh-p'an ching, untraced.

Hua-yen ching; T 10-279, p. 122a; untraced.

NO. 55 (pp. 976c-977a)

Nieh-p'an ching T 12-374, p. 537 a-b; p. 538b.

NO. 56 (p. 977a)

977a P'an-jo ching, untraced.

lun, source unknown.

No. 57 (p. 977a-b)

lun, source unknown.

NO. 58 (p. 977b-c)

977b Ta-chi ching, untraced.

Ching-t'u san-mei ching, no longer extant.

Hua-yen ching, see T 10-279, p. 387c, for similar passage.

Fan-wang ching T 24-1484, p. 1009a-b.

Hua-yen ching T 10-279, p. 95a; p. 429b-c.

NO. 59 (pp. 977c-978a)

977c P'an-jo ching, untraced.

Shang-shou p'u-sa, source unknown.

Ta pao-en ching T 3-156, p. 156b-c.

Ku-te, source unknown.

Fa-chü ching T 4-211, p. 575a-b.

Mu huan-tzu ching T 17-786, p. 726a-b.

NO. 60 (pp. 978a-982c)

978a Chih-kung, untraced.

Shen-k'ai, untraced.

Hua-yen ching, untraced.

Hsien-yü ching T 4-202, p. 359b-c.

Chen-chüeh ta-shih, T 48-2013, p. 395b.

978b Shou-leng-yen ching T 19-945, pp. 148c-149a.

Hsiang-fa chieh-i ching, see T 85-2870, p. 1336b.

lun, source unknown.

978c Hua-yen ching T 10-279, p. 75c.

P'u-kuang ching, no longer extant.

Shih-teng kung-te ching T 16-702, p. 805b.

979a Fa-hua ching T 9-262, p. 9a.

Ta-szu-wei ching, untraced.

Hsien-yü ching, see T 4-202, p. 359a-b.

ching, source unknown.

lun, source unknown.

ching, source unknown.

Pai-yüan ching, see T 4-200, p. 200b-c.

979b. _Kuan-fo san-mei ching_, see T 15-643, p. 688b-c.

Fa-hua ching T 9-262, p. 10a-b.

Hua-yen ching T 10-279, p. 76c.

P'i-ni-mu ching, untraced.

Shih-sung lü, untraced.

Fa-hua ching T 9-262, p. 9a.

Ta chih-tu lun, see T 25-1509, p. 109b-c.

979c _lun_, source unknown.

Hua-yen ching T 10-279, p. 309a.

Ta chih-tu lun T 25-1509, p. 108b; untraced.

Ta chuang-yen lun, untraced.

Fa-hua ching T 9-262, pp. 8c-9a.

980a _Tso-fo hsing-hsiang ching_ T 16-692; summary of contents.

Hua-shou ching, see T 16-657, pp. 193b-194a.

Wu-shang-i ching, see T 16-669, p. 469a.

980b _Nieh-p'an ching_ T 12-374, p. 491b.

Fa-hua ching, untraced.

Ch'u-chia kung-te ching, see T 16-707, p. 813.

Pen-yüan ching, untraced.

Seng-chih lü, untraced.

980c. Nieh-p'an ching, untraced.

Ta pao-en ching T 3-156, p. 165a.

P'u-sa pen-hsing ching, see T 3-155, p. 112b-c.

Cheng fa-nien ching, untraced.

Fu fa-chuan, see T 50-2058.

Ta pao-en ching T 3-156, p. 165a.

981a Ta fang-pien fo pao-en ching T 3-156, p. 165a.

Fu-t'ien ching T 16-683, p. 778b.

Pai-yüan ching, see T 4-200, p. 200b-c.

Hsien-yü ching, see T 4-202, p. 354b-355a..

ching, source unknown.

Kao-seng chuan, T 50-2059, p. 353c.

981b ching, source unknown.

Ta chih-tu lun, untraced.

Hua-yen ching T 10-279, p. 76b.

Hua-yen ching, ibid.

Fa-chü ching, T 4-210, p. 561c.

ching, source unknown.

P'i-sha lun, untraced.

981c Hsiang-fa chueh-i ching T 85-2870, p. 1336a.

Chang-fu lun, source unknown.

Hua-yen ching, untraced.

Ta nieh-p'an ching T 12-374, p. 454b.

Fan-wang ching T 24-1484, p. 1006b.

982a Hua-yen ching T 10-279, p. 149b-c.

Nieh-p'an ching T 12-374, p. 426c.

Ch'an-seng Teng Yin-feng, untraced.

ching, source unknown.

982b Tsa a-han ching T 2-99, pp. 340c-341a.

Hua-yen ching T 10-279, pp. 143c-144a.

Cheng fa-nien ching, untraced.

To lan-pen ching, no longer extant.

Hsien-yü ching T 4-202, p. 356a-b.

Chüan Three NO. 61 (p. 983a)

983a ching, source unknown.

NO. 62 (p. 983a-b)

Fa-chü ching T 85-2902, p. 1435a.

Hsien-shou kuo-shih, see the Hua-yen ching-i hai-pai men T 45-1875, p. 627b.

Ta-chi ching, T 13-397, p. 98a.

Chin kuang-ming ching T 16-663

983b Ta chih-tu lun, untraced.

NO. 63 (p. 983b-c)

P'an-jo ching, untraced.

Fa-chü ching, T 85-2902, p. 1433c.

Chin-kang san-mei ching T 9-273, p. 372b.

ching, source unknown.

lun, source unknown.

Lu-shan Yüan ta-shih nieh-p'an ching, see the Ta-p'an nieh-p'an ching i-chi, T 37-1764, p. 654b.

Hung-ming chi, untraced.

983c ching, source unknown.

Chung-lun, see T 30-1564, p. 18c.

Chin-kang san-mei ching, untraced.

Chao-lun T 45-1858, p. 150c.

NO. 64 (p. 984a)

984a ching, source unknown.

(Seng-) chao, see T 38-1775, p. 406a.

Hua-yen ching T 10-279, p. 134b.

Ta-chi ching T 13-397, p. 106a.

NO. 65 (p. 984a)

Hua-yen ching, untraced.

NO. 66 (p. 984a-c)

984b (T'ien-) t'ai chiao, source unknown.

Hua-yen ching T 10-279, p. 291c.

NO. 67 (p. 984c)

984c Fa-hua ching T 9-262, p. 7c; p. 20b.

Chen chüeh ta-shih, T 48-2013, pp. 392c-393a.

Shu-ching, see V-27.21; untraced.

NO. 68 (pp. 984c-985a)

985a Chao-lun T 45-1858, p. 151c.

ching, source unknown.

NO. 69 (~~p.~~ 985a)

Ching-ming ching T 14-475, p. 537c.

NO. 70 (p. 985a)

Wei-mo ching T 14-475, p. 545c.

Hua-yen ching, untraced.

NO. 71 (p. 985a-b)

985b Fa-hua ching T 9-262, p. 44c.

Hua-yen ching T 10-279, p. 123b.

Fa-hua ching, untraced.

Tsu-shih, source unknown.

Fo yün, source unknown.

NO. 72 (pp. 985b-986b)

Leng-chia ching, untraced.

985c Hua-yen ching, untraced.

Fa-hua ching, T 9-262, pp. 45c-46a.

986a Fa-hua ching, T 9-262, p. 8b.

Nieh-p'an ching, untraced.

T'i-wei ching, untraced.

P'u-sa ch'u-t'ai ching T 12-384, p. 1047b; p. 1030b-c.

986b Fa-chü ching, see T 4-210, pp. 572c-573a; p. 559b.

Hua-yen ching T 10-279, p. 72b.

Ta chuang-yen fa-men ching T 17-818, p. 830a.

Hua-yen ching T 10-279, p. 358b.

ching, source uncertain.

NO. 73 (p. 986b-c)

P'i-yü ching, reference is to a no longer extant version.

986c Ta pao-chi ching, untraced.

NO. 74 (p. 986c-987b)

Fa-hua ching T 9-262, p. 9b.

lun, source unknown.

ching, source unknown.

987a Ta p'an-jo ching, untraced.

Hua-yen lun, no longer extant.

Kuei-feng ch'an-shih, T 48-2015, p. 402a; untraced; p. 406b-c.

NO. 76 (p. 987b-c)

987b Kuei-feng ch'an-shih, untraced (see T 48-2015, p. 402a and 407b ff.).

987c Hua-yen ching, see T 10-279, p. 417b.

ching, source unknown.

Ta chih-tu lun, untraced.

NO. 77 (pp. 987c-988a)

Chung-ni, see the Lun-yü, Bk. XI-12.

NO. 78 (p. 988a-b)

988a Lao-tzu, untraced.

Hsi-sheng ching, untraced.

Fu-tzu, no longer extant.

Lieh-tzu, ch. 4 [see the Lieh-tzu hsuan-chi san-chung (Shung-kuo tzu-hsueh ming-chu chi-ch'eng 064, pp. 111ff.)].

Wu-shu, untraced.

Ch'i shih-chieh ching, untraced.

NO. 79 (p. 988b)

988b Han-ming, see the *Hou-han shu*, ch. 88.

Wu-t'i, untraced.

NO. 80 (p. 988b-c)

Ta p'an-jo ching, untraced.

988c *Ch'i-hsin lun* T 32-1666, p. 583a.

NO. 83 (pp. 988c-989a)

Hua-yen ching T 10-279, p. 67a.

lun, source unknown.

Ta chih-tu lun, untraced.

Wei-shih lun T 31-1585, p. 1c.

NO. 84 (p. 989a)

989a *Hua-yen ching*, see T 10-279, p. 280c.

NO. 85 (p. 989a-b)

989b *Chin-kang san-mei ching* T 9273, p. 371c.

NO. 86 (p. 989b)

ching, source unknown.

Hua-yen ching T 10-279, p. 66b; p. 66c.

NO. 91 (p. 989c)

989c *Fa-hua ching* T 9-262, p. 43.

NO. 92 (p. 989c)

Fa-hua hsüan-i T 33-1716, p. 748b.

NO. 93 (pp. 989c-990a)

990a Chiu-mo-lo-tuo, untraced.

lun, source unknown.

NO. 94 (p. 990a-b)

Nieh-p'an ching, untraced.

990b *ching*, source unknown.

ching, source unknown.

San-ts'ang fa-shih, see the *Ta tzu-en san-ts'ang fa-shih chuan* T 50-2053, p. 277a-b.

NO. 95 (p. 990b-c)

990c *P'i-yü ching*, untraced (reference is to no longer extant version).

NO. 96 (p. 990c)

P'i-yü ching, untraced (reference is to no longer extant version).

NO. 97 (pp. 990c-991a)

Shu(-ching) is actually the I-ching 71-43.

Shu-ching BK. IV, ch. 3-8.

Sung-tien, untraced.

NO. 98 (p. 991a-b)

991a ching, source unknown.

ching, source unknown.

991b ching, source unknown.

Hua-yen ching T 10-279, p. 69b-c.

Mi-yen ching T 16-682, p. 757a-b.

NO. 108 (p. 991c)

991c Wei-shih lun T 31-1585, p. 1b.

ching, source unknown.

NO. 110 (p. 992a)

992a San wu-hsing lun T 31-1617, p. 872a.

NO. 113 (p. 992a-c)

Jen-wang ching T 8-246, p. 834c.

P'an-jo ching, untraced.

992b Wu-liang i ching T 9-276, p. 385c.

992c ching, source unknown.

Chapter I - Footnotes

[1]These works are found in T. 50, nos. 2059, 2060, 2061, respectively.

[2]A. F. Wright, "Biography and Hagiography: Hui-chiao's Lives of Eminent Monks", in Silver Jubilee Volume of the Zimbun kagaku kenkyusyo (Kyoto, 1954), p. 387.

[3]Admittedly, it is not entirely satisfactory to treat these biographies in this way. the placing of monks in particular categories appears to be a complicated process, and not necessarily tied directly to the intrinsic events of a given monk's life. For example, according to an unpublished ms. by Koichi Shinohara entitled, "Miracle Stories in Chinese Buddhist Biographies: Three Preliminary Investigations", the biographies in the "Miracle Workers" section of the HKSC owe their inclusion clearly to miracles arising from the charisma of a monk's relics rather than any charisma of the monk himself. However, this does not change much the fact that these biographical collections reflect in important ways perceptions of the Buddhist community at the time of their compilation, as viewed through the eyes of their compilers. Indeed, evidence of this kind of "manipulation" should be seen as proof of the creative potential to which accepted historiographical conventions might be used. And it is through such divergencies that current proclivities are often revealed in Chinese biograhical collections. Thus, my analysis of these collections that follows should be understood in terms of the search for these proclivities rather than an exposition that is in keeping with an intrinsic logic operating within the biographies themselves. It can be considered fortunate that Tsan-ning was a contemporary of Yen-shou. Were he not, I doubt that this data could be used so easily for my purposes.

[4]A. F. Wright, op. cit.

[5]Ibid., p. 406.

[6]The subject of Miracle Workers in Chinese Buddhist biographies, particularly by Tao-hsüan in the HKSC, is discussed by Shinohara, op. cit. In addition he points out the close personal connection between miraculous events and the biography of Tao-hsüan contained in such places as SKSC, and his own declared predilection toward the miraculous as stated in his Tao hsüan lü-shih kan-t'ung lu (T. 52-2107).

[7]The characterization of self-immolation in the KSC, HKSC, and the SKSC has been reviewed by Jan Yün-hua, "Buddhist Self-Immolation in Medieval China", History of Religions 4 (1965), pp. 243-65.

[8]The principal source for the study of Tsung-mi's analysis is his Preface to the Ch'an-yüan chu-ch'üan (Various Explanations on the Source of Ch'an), T. 48-2015, of which there is a modern Japanese translation and study by Kamata Shigeo, Zen no goroku 9: Zengenshosenshutojo (Tokyo, 1971). For my summary, I have relied heavily on two articles by Jan Yün-hua: "Tsung-mi, his Analysis of Ch'an Buddhism," T'oung Pao, LVIII (1972), pp. 1-54, which contains translated portions of the Ch'an-yüan chu-ch'üan, and "Conflict and Harmony in Ch'an and Buddhism," Journal of Chinese Philosophy 4 (1977), pp. 1-14.

[9]The teaching of this school is most commonly associated with the Northern School of Shen-hsiu, among others. See Jan, ibid., pp. 37-38.

[10]The teaching of this school is associated with the disciples of Shih-t'ou and the Oxhead (niu-t'ou) school. For a fuller account of their position, see Jan, ibid., pp. 38-39.

[11]The position of this school is associated with teachings deriving from Ma-tsu Tao-i and Ho-tse Shen-hui, commonly referred to as the Southern School. See Jan, ibid., pp. 39-40.

[12]Tsung-mi's views are here drawn from his Yüan-jen lun (On the Original Nature of Man), T. 45-1886, translated in de Bary, ed., The Buddhist Tradition, pp. 179-96. Han Yü's anti-Buddhist position is summarized in his Yüan jen (On the Original Nature of Man) and Yüan tao (On the Tao).

[13]Yüan-jen lun (On the Original Nature of Man), de Bary, ed., ibid., p. 181.

[14]On the Hui-ch'ang suppression, see Kenneth Ch'en, "The Economic Background of the Hui-Ch'ang Suppression of Buddhism," HJAS 19 (1956), pp. 67-105; Chia Chung-yao, "The Church-State Conflict in the T'ang Dynasty," in Sun and DeFrancis, trans., Chinese Social History, pp. 197-206; and E. O. Reischauer, Ennin's Travels in T'ang China, ch. VII, "The Persecution of Buddhism," pp. 217-271.

[15]On the rebellion of An Lu-shan and the circumstances surrounding it, see Edwin G. Pulleyblank, The

Background of the Rebellion of An Lu-shan (New York, 1955).

[16]This is generally brought out in the study of Wang Gungwu, The Structure of Power in North China during the Five Dynasties (Stanford, 1967).

[17]For example, the proscriptions against Buddhism enacted by Emperor Ming Tsung of the Later T'ang dynasty in 926 can in large part be seen as a reaction against the lax practices and excesses encouraged by his predecessor on the throne, Chuang Tsung, who openly favoured Buddhism, and had depended on Buddhist influence in his ascendance to the throne.

[18]For a review of the situation of Buddhism in the Five Dynasties generally, and particularly for the Shih Tsung suppression, Makita Tairyo's Godai shūkyōshi kenkyū (Studies in the Religious History of the Five Dynasties) is very useful. Record of the original provisions in the Shih Tsung suppression are to be found in WTHY 12 and 16, CWTS 115, and HWTS 12. The four major suppressions in Chinese history are: Northern Wei (446), Northern Chou (574), T'ang (845), and Later Chou (955).

[19]CWTS 115, p. 1529; Makita, ibid., p. 176.

[20]WTHY 16; CWTS 115; HWTS 12. The WTHY gives the number of temples destroyed as 33,036. Makita, op. cit., doubts the authenticity of these figures as they far exceed comparable numbers given for the T'ang suppression.

[21]The ten kingdoms are:

Wu 902-937
Nan T'ang 937-975
Wu Yueh 897-978
Min 909-944
Nan Han 917-971
Early and Later Shu 907-965
Ch'u 927-951
Nan Ping 925-963
Pei Han 951-979

[22]For a discussion of the important role played by the Southern T'ang kingdom in the revival of Buddhism, see Tsukamoto, "Godai nantō no ōshitsu to bukkyō", Bukkyō bunka kenkyū, no. 3, Nov. 1953.

[23]A chronology of the Wu Yüeh monarchs is as follows:

(1) Ch'ien Liu, (Prince Wu-su); (852-932) reigned 897-932.

(2) Ch'ien Yuan-kuan (Prince Wen-mo); (887-941); reigned 932-941.

(3) Ch'ien Tso (Prince Chung-hsien); (928-947); reigned 941-947.

(4) Ch'ien Tsung (Prince Chung-hsun); reigned briefly in 947-948.

(5) Ch'ien Ch'u (Prince Chung-i); (929-988); reigned 948-978.

Useful work on the history of Wu Yueh, and translation of important documents pertaining to the reigns of individual monarchs has been carried out by Edouard Chavannes, "Le Royaume de Wou et de Yue", T'oung Pao XVII, 1916, pp. 129-264. The Buddhist proclivities of Wu Yüeh rulers has been discussed by Abe Choichi, Chugoku zenshūshi no kenkyū, pp. 81-176.

The biographical records (pen-chi) of the reigns of these monarchs are contained in WYPS 1-4; and SKCC 77-82. Biographies (lieh-chuan) are also contained in CWTS 133; HWTS 67; and SS 480. These latter biographies have been translated by Chavannes, pp. 142-226. Because of Ch'ien Liu's gradual acquisition of power in the region, various dates have been accepted as the beginning of his reign. For a discussion of these, see Chavannes, pp. 131-32.

[24]Evidence of this can be seen, for example, in SKCC 89, p. 17a; Abe discussed this at some length; see in particular pp. 112-13.

[25]This is one of the principal findings of my unpublished study, "Buddhism and Wu Yüeh Government in Tenth Century China as expressed through Religious Stories in the lives of Monarchs and Monks."

[26]According to Abe, op. cit., p. 130, the death of Lo Yin in the year 909 marks a turning point in the religious interests of Ch'ien Liu. The biograhical accounts of Ch'ien Liu in the WYPS and SKCC support this assertion. Mention of buddhism does not become a real factor until a few years later.

[27]CTCTL 26.

[28]Ibid.

[29]FTTC 42, p. 389c.

[30]According to the teaching of the Fo-shuo mi-le hsia-sheng ch'eng-fo ching, T. 14-455.

[31]Kenneth Ch'en, Buddhism in China, p. 428. See also Daniel Overmyer, Folk Buddhist Religion (Cambridge, Mass., 1976).

[32]CCTC 230.

[33]FTTC 42, p. 390c.

[34]Aside from the various individual examples, this is generally asserted of him in CSTP 122.

[35]SKCC 81, p. 17 and FTTC 42, p. 394c state that Prince Chung-i emulated Aśoka in his stupa building.

[36]SKCC 89, Yu-chang biography.

[37]These are in addition to the thirteen temples on Mt. T'ien-t'ai attributed to Te-chao's efforts (see Hatanaka Joen, "Goetsu no bukkyō", Otani daigaku kenkyū nenpo No. 7, 1954, pp. 318-19.

[38]JTPC, HTC 148, p. 99; FTTC, T. 49, p. 206a-c. See also Hatanaka, ibid., pp. 315-16.

[39]Biographies of Te-chao are contained in SKSC 13, CTCTL 25 and SKCC 89. The circumstances surrounding his life have been reviewed by Hatanaka, op. cit., pp. 308-22.

[40]The most reliable source for the study of Tsan-ning's life is found in ch. 20 of Wang Yü-ch'eng's Hsiao-ch'u chi. The most thorough modern study is by Makita Tairyo, "Sannei to sono jidai," in Chugoku kinse bukkyō shi kenkyū, pp. 96-133.

[41]For a list of Tsan-ning's writings, see Makita, ibid., pp. 109-10.

[42]Yen-shou's name is generally cited for his contribution in three areas: (1) the harmonization of the Ch'an school with the doctrinal schools of Chinese Buddhism, (2) the harmonization of the three religions--Buddhism, Confucianism, and Taoism, and (3) the synthesis of ch'an and nien-fo practice. There will be occasion to discuss the suitability of these below. In particular, he is appropriated as a founding figure of the Ch'an/Pure Land synthesis which dominated the Chinese Buddhist scene. As

such he is claimed as the spiritual forbear of such Ch'an figures as Ming-pen (1262-1323), Wei-tse, and Chu-hung (1535-1615), and the nien-fo kung-an movement. (On this connection, see Shih Heng-ching, The Ch'an-Pure Land Synthesis in China: With Special Reference to Yung-ming Yen-shou, PhD (1984), University of Wisconsin-Madison, pp. 246ff.) There will be occasion to discuss the suitability of this characterization below.

[43]Yen-shou's impact on Korean Buddhism is deduceable from the fact of the Korean students sent to study under him. In particular, he is said to have had great influence on the important Korean Buddhist figure Chinul (See Robert E. Buswell, The Korean Approach to Zen: The Collected Works of Chinul [Honolulu, 1983]).

Chapter II - Footnotes

[1]Shih Heng-ching, The Ch'an--Pure Land Synthesis in China: With Special Reference to Yung-ming Yen-shou, pp. 132ff., the University of Wisconsin-Madison PhD, 1984.

[2]Jan Yün-hua has outlined the development of Sung Buddhist historiography in conjunction with the schools of the period in his article, "Buddhist Historiography in Sung China", Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgandlandischen Gesellschaft 64 (1964), pp. 360-381. See also Makita Tairyo, "Sodai ni okeru Bukkyōshigaku no hatten," Indogaku Bukkyōgaku kenkyū, v. 3, no. 2, March 1955, pp. 249-51.

[3]The status that Yen-shou achieved within the Chinese Buddhist tradition will become more apparent as we proceed. To state briefly, in terms of later developments within the tradition the aspect of Yen-shou's practice and work that was most prized was that involving the combined practice of ch'an meditation and nien-fo invocation. The dual pillars that these provided to the later tradition can be evidenced from many sources. For a discussion of the use of these in the modern period, see Holmes Welch, The Practice of Chinese Buddhism 1900-1950 (see especially chps. II and III).

[4]For a discussion of the meaning of this term, see Frank E. Reynolds and Donald Capps, eds., The Biographical Process (Studies in the History and Psychology of Religion), "Introduction", pp. 27-30. The following discussion quoted from p. 28, may be of use to the reader.

> ...many of those who have studied biographical images have taken some account of the fact that such images have both a mythic and an historical aspect. And many who have concentrated on the study of individual lives have recognized that these lives have been constituted by an intricate interweaving of mythic, paradigmatic, and historical elements. However, without denying that the more sensitive scholars on each side of the division have been concerned with both myth and history, it is clear that those who have been concerned with biographic images have been primarily oriented toward myth, whereas those who have been basically engaged in the study of individual lives have been oriented toward history.

[5]The problem of lineage, as it is so closely related to the establishment of the Ch'an school in China, had traditionally been the focus of much controversy. Works like the Chuan-fa-pao chi, the Leng-chia shih-tzu, the Li-tai fa-pao chi, represent the efforts of different factions within Ch'an to resolve the issue of legitimate lineage in their favour. Useful accounts of the state of scholarhsip in this area can be gained from the "Introduction" to Philip Yampolsky's book The Platform Sutra of the Sixth Patriarch, and his article in Lewis Lancaster and Whalen Lai (eds.), Early Ch'an in China and Tibet, entitled, "New Japanese Studies in Early Ch'an History", pp. 1-11. Also, in the same book is Yanagida Seizan's article, "The Li-tai fa-pao chi and the Ch'an Doctrine of Sudden Awakening," pp. 13-49. The Japanese works in this field are too numerous to mention.

[6]For an introduction to the conventions governing Chinese biographical writing, see the article by D. C. Twitchett entitled, "Chinese Biographical Writing", ch. 7 of Historians of China and Japan, Beasley and Pulleyblank (eds.), pp. 95-114.

[7]Chung-kuo fo-chiao, vol. 2, pp. 237-39.

[8]Except where noted, the chronology provided here is derived from Yen-shou's biography in SKSC, ch. 28 (T. 50, p. 887a-b), and CTCTL, ch. 20 (T. 51, pp. 421c-422a).

[9]According to SKSC, Yen-shou was a native of Ch'ien-t'ang, but in the CTCTL, Yen-shou is said to be a native of Yü-hang. The location of Ch'ien-t'ang is the modern city of Hang-chou, the capital of Che-chiang province. In Yen-shou's day, Ch'ien-t'ang served as the capital of the Wu Yüeh state. Yü-hang is presently the name of a town situated to the west of Hang-chou. In Yen-shou's time it seems to have indicated the region of Hang-chou proper.

[10]The biography of Ch'an master Ts'ui-yen is contained in the Tsu-t'ang chi, ch. 10, and the CTCTL, ch. 18.

[11]Ch. 9, HTC 137, p. 239d.

[12]Ch. 2, p. 13.

[13]Ch. 82, pp. 10-12.

[14]Ch. 3A, p. 7a.

[15]HTC 111, p. 83b-d.

[16]I have been unable to find any solid biographical information on either of these two. The poems of Hsüan-chu (Hsüan-chu shih) appear together with those of Yen-shou (Yung-ming shan-chu shih) in a modern collection of poetry published by the Buddhist Association operating out of Kuo-ch'ing ssu on Mt. T'ien-t'ai.

[17]Ch. 9, p. 241a.

[18]Sources where these works may be found are as follows:

Hsin-pu chu, HTC 111, pp. 1-75.
Wei-hsin chüeh, T. 48, pp. 993c-996c.
San-shih hsi-nien-fo-shih, HTC 128, pp. 56-61.
San-shih hsi-nien-i-fan, HTC 128, pp. 61-70.
Ch'uan-jen nien-fo, HTC 128, pp. 70-71.
Nien-fo cheng-yin shuo, HTC 128, p. 71a-c.
Chih-chüeh ch'an-shih ch'ui-chieh wen, T. 48, p. 993b-c.
San-chih pi-liang i-ch'ao, HTC 87, pp. 86-92.
Hsin-hsing tsui-fu yin-yuan chi, HTC 149, pp. 218-239.

The list itself is taken from Hatanaka Joen, "Goetsu no bukkyo," pp. 348-349.

[19]Sources where these works may be found are as follows:

Tsung-ching lu, T. 48, pp. 415-957.
Wan-shan t'ung-kuei chi, T. 48, pp. 953-993.
Ting-hui hsiang-tzu ko, T. 48, pp. 996-997.
Ching-shih wen, T. 48, pp. 997-98.
Shan-chu shih; according to Hatanaka Joen, "Goetsu no bukkyo," pp. 345ff., this work is no longer extant. It is not to be found in any of the usual collections of Buddhist works, to be sure. However, on a trip to T'ien-t'ai shan in the spring of 1985, I was able to procure a copy of collected poems including those of Yen-shou and two others, Shih-shih and Hsuan-chu, being sold at Kuo-ch'ing ssu. (Also see n. 16 above.)
Shen-hsi an-yang pu, included in Lo-pang wen-lei, ch. 5, T. 47, pp. 214c-215a.
Hsin-pu, HTC 111, pp. 1-75.
Kuan-hsin hsuan-shu, HTC 114, pp. 424-435.
Chin-kang cheng-yen pu, contained in the Yung-lo ta-tien, ch. 7, 543, pp. 18ff.
Shou p'u-sa chieh-i, HTC 105, pp. 8-11.
Tzu-hsing lu, HTC 111, pp. 77-84.

[20]See, for example, the entry under Tsung-ching lu (Sugyo-roku) in Zengaku daijiten, p. 638b, which follows the tradition that Yen-shou wrote the Tsung-ching lu while residing on Mt. Hsüeh-tou in stating that the work was completed in the second year of Chien-lung (961), at the request of Prince Chung-i of Wu Yüeh. It is inconceivable that a work of this length could be completed in the span of one year, especially under the circumstances of assuming new duties as chief priest of large temples in the capital. Thus, the work would have had to be written at Mt. Hsüeh-tou according to this tradition.

[21]See the entry under Wan-shan t'ung-kuei chi in Jōdoshu tenseki kenkyū, p. 118.

[22]Tsan-ning (919-1001), the compiler of the SKSC, lived on Mt. T'ien-t'ai and had intimate connections with many of the same people as Yen-shou. From this it can be safely assumed that he had personal knowledge of Yen-shou's activities (see Hatanaka Joen, "Goetsu no Bukkyō--toku ni Tendai Tokushō to sono shi Eimei Enju ni tsuite", Indogaku Bukkyōgaku kenkyū, v. II, no. 1, September 1953, p. 322). Little is known of Tao-yüan, the compiler of the CTCTL. He is said to have been a fellow student with Yen-shou under Te-chao, and this would seem to indicate the likelihood of personal contact between them (see Ishii Shudo, "Eimei enju den--hogenshu sanso to rensha shisso", Komazawa daigaku daigakuin bukkyōgaku kenkyūgo nenpo, no. 3, March 15, 1969, p. 78).

[23]The role of Tsan-ning in developing the institutional status of Buddhism in the Sung should also be noted here. After serving as the Director of Monks in the Wu-yüeh kingdom, he continued in this capacity at the request of the emperor of the newly formed Sung dynasty after the Wu-yüeh kingdom was reintegrated with the Sung in 978. Through his literary talent and knowledge of Confucianism, he became a respected figure in the Sung court, and through his influence forged much of the subsequent role that Buddhism would play in the Chinese state. His most important work in this regard is the Seng-shih lüeh ("Compendium of Monastic History"), T. 54-2126 (Regarding Tsan-ning, see Makita Tairyo, "Sannei to sono jidai", Chugoku kinse bukkyōshi kenkyū, pp. 96-133).

[24]The original model for relating the biograhies of eminent monks aside from their sectarian affiliation was provided by Hui-chiao in his Kao-seng chuan (regarding this, see A. F. Wright, "Biography and Hagiography: Hui-chiao's Lives of Eminent Monks", in Silver Jubilee Volume of the Zimbun-Kagaku Kenkyusyo [Kyoto, 1954]). This was continued

by Tao-hsüan in his Hsü kao-seng chuan (T. 50-2059/2060, respectively).

Regarding the conventions followed by Tsan-ning in the SKSC, the ten categories are: (1) Translators (i-ching); (2) Exegetes (i-hsüeh); (3) Meditators (hsi-ch'an); (4) Disciplinarians (ming-lü), (5) Protectors/Defenders of the Dharma (hu-fa); (6) Diviners (?) (hsien-t'ung); (7) Self-immolators (i-sheng); (8) Cantors (hsü-sung); (9) Promoters of Works of Merit (hsing-fu); (10) Miscellaneous (tsa-k'o).

Rather than nos. (5), (6), and (10), Hui-chiao's categories included: Theurgists (shen-i), Hymnodists (ching-shih), and Sermonists (ch'ang-tao). See A. F. Wright, "Biography and Hagiography: Hui-chiao's Lives of Eminent Monks", in Silver Jubilee Volume of the Zimbun-Kagaku Kenkyusyo (Kyoto, 1954, pp. 405ff.)

[25]On the significance of hsing-fu during the Five Dynasties period, see Chapter I, section A.1: "Shifting Patterns in the Categories of Eminent Monks", above.

[26]The Tsu-t'ang chi was originally published in 952. The copy consulted is that published by Chung-wen ch'u-pan she from a copy from the Korean edition, contained in the library of Hanazono University in Kyoto, Japan.

[27]Philip Yampolsky, The Platform Sutra of the Sixth Patriarch, pp. 52-55 discusses the masters who started these two lineages deriving from the sixth patriarch.

[28]The Fa-yen sect of Ch'an is known for its harmonizing attitude toward other Buddhist schools. The founder Fa-yen Wen-yi toward the Hua-yen school. Te-chao toward T'ien-t'ai, and Yen-shou toward the Pure Land.

[29]This is asserted in Tsan-ning's preface to the SKSC, and confirmed in the preface to Tsan-ning's works written by his contemporary, Wang Yü-ch'eng. A copy of the preface is found in ch. 20 of the Hsiao-ch'u chi.

[30]T. 50, p. 887b.

[31]It should also be noted that the SKSC biography is unique among earlier sources in mentioning that Yen-shou abandoned his wife and child to become a monk. This, of course, has an obvious parallel in the life of the Buddha and has undoubtedly been included here as a device for associating Yen-shou's life with that of the Buddha.

[32]The vaipulya repentance or fang-teng ch'an. The confession of crimes committed with the six sense-organs.

[33]For an English translation, see Chang Chung-yuan, Original Teachings of Ch'an Buddhism, pp. 250-53.

[34]See Appendix II at the end of this chapter for a discussion of Yen-shou's position in the Yung-ming temple lineage. Furthermore, there are other ways in which the Fa-yen lineage proposed by Tao-yüan in the CTCTL poses problems. Te-chao's traditional confirmation of Yen-shou's realization is accompanied by a prediction that Yen-shou will cause Buddhism to flourish in future owing to his close associations with the Wu Yüeh ruler, so that even Yen-shou's "Ch'an enlightenment" is bound together with concern for the promotion of Buddhism in the state. In this way, secular concerns are given an equal place alongside the traditional religious or spiritual ones pertaining to the Ch'an school. Furthermore, the supposed transmission from Fa-yen Wen-i to Te-chao is similarly constructed in the CTCTL. When Wen-i occasioned the enlightenment of Te-chao, Wen-i uttered a prediction that Te-chao will in future become the teacher (shih) of a kingdom (kuo-wang) and cause the way of the patriarchs to flourish. The fact that Tao-yüan preserves the tradition associating the rise of the Fa-yen sect with its connections to secular authority alongside the traditional Ch'an concern further causes one to wonder on which criteria Tao-yüan's lineage is actually based? Given these considerations as well as those raised previously, it seems little wonder that the way Yen-shou was to be regarded in future Buddhist chronicles would become a centre of controversy, even in those records deriving from the Ch'an school itself.

[35]CTCTL, ch. 25; T. 51, p. 407c. Prediction verses connected with the political fortunes of Buddhism abound in the records of masters of the Fa-yen sect. In addition to Te-chao's prediction about Yen-shou, he is also said to have predicted future rulership for Prince Chung-i, at which time the prince would promote the Buddha-Dharma in Wu Yüeh (SKSC, ch. 13; T. 50, p. 789b).

[36]HTC 136 and 137, respectively.

[37]HTC 135.

[38]Members of the Fa-yen sect appear in ch. 27, HTC 125, p. 302c.

[39]T. 51, pp. 762-63.

[40]HTC a148, p. 294b.

[41]HTC 136, p. 450.

[42]HTC 138, p. 184.

[43]The CLSPC biography is recorded in HTC 137, pp. 239-41. The material is the same as that recorded in Hui-hung's inscription in the Ling-yin ssu-chih, ch. 6A, pp. 11-16.

[44]HTC 148, p. 71a-c.

[45]T. 48, p. 967c.

[46]See the Chih-che ta-shih pieh-chuan, T. 50-2050; and the Kuo-ch'ing pai lu, ch. 4 (T 46-1934, p. 822b ff.).

[47]The most important masters of this movement predate the establishment of the Pure Land school as such. Hui-yüan (334-416) is usually associated with the founding of a Pure Land Society in 402, though he never actively propagated Pure Land teaching. Later figures central to the movement, T'an-luan (476-542), Tao-cho (562-645) and his disciple Shan-tao (613-681), and Tz'u-min (680-748) and a second generation disciple Fa-chao, all preached Pure Land doctrine, but their efforts did not result in a school with an established lineage. The lineage for this school was eventually established in the Sung, but is more of a tribute to past masters and does not reflect a master/disciple transmission lineage as in the Ch'an school.

[48] This point is also made by Stanley Weinstein, "Imperial Patronage in the Formation of T'ang Buddhism", Perspectives on the T'ang, Wright and Twichett, ed., p. 268.

[49]T. 47-1970.

[50]Takao Giken, Sodai bukkyōshi no kenkyū, p. 169.

[51]T. 47, p. 268b-c.

[52]T. 47-1969.

[53]T. 47, pp. 192b-193c. Yü Chün-fang, The Renewal of Buddhism in China, Chu-hung and the Late Ming Synthesis, p. 37, notes that "The Pure Land patriarchal tradition obviously meant something quite different from that of the Ch'an schools; it did not denote a lineage relationship between the patriarchs as it does in the case of Ch'an."

[54]The list is contained in T. 47, p. 182b-c.

[55]T. 49-2035; Yen-shou's biography is on pp. 264b-265a.

[56]HTC 130; Yen-shou's biography is on pp. 449-50.

[57] For a discussion see Jan, *op. cit.*, pp. 370-72; Makita, *op. cit.*; and Takao, *op. cit.*, ch. 8.

[58]However, the way in which the drama is played out in this case is quite interesting in its deviation from the norm. Here the confrontation is not simply one of secular authority vs. religious authority. Yen-shou, to be sure, is depicted as a paradigmatic Buddhist. He is moved by Buddhist compassion, and in his Buddhist wisdom, death holds no sway over him. In his ability to face death calmly, he is depicted as one who has conquered death. The prince, on the other hand, in serving as the supreme authority in matters where secular as well as religious affairs are concerned, is portrayed not only as one capable of pardoning Yen-shou from his civil offense, but also as one capable of determining the validity of Yen-shou's enlightenment. In performing this latter function, one has the impression that the prince is assuming a role which is traditionally reserved for the enlightened Ch'an master who, in accord with his enlightened state, is able to validate the experience of Ch'an students. Here the prince is exercising the pardon in such a way that he is still a secular authority, and yet he recognizes that Yen-shou has transcended the dictates of secular power. The role of the king as arbitrator in affairs secular and religious is a common feature in stories growing out of the Wu-yüeh kingdom of the Five Dynasties period. These stories are examined in my unpublished study on Buddhism and the Wu-yüeh government entitled "Buddhism and the Wu-yüeh Government in Tenth Century China (as Expressed through Religious Stories in the Lives of Monarchs and Monks)." This served as the basis for a presentation at the Canadian Society for the Study of Religion panel entitled: *Religion and Politics in Chinese History*, University of Guelph, June, 1984.

[59]T. 48, p. 981c.

[60]*Ibid.*, p. 968c and p. 982b.

[61]Chapter 25 of the *Fa-hua ching* (T. 9-262), and T. 12-360 (the *Wu-liang-shou ching*).

[62]The *Fa-hua ch'an* is a ritual whereby one combines recitation of the *Fa-hua ching* with the confession of sins.

The ritual was developed by Chih-i (see the Fa-hua san-mei ch'an-i (T. 46-1941) based on the P'u-hsien kuan ching and the Fa-hua ching.

[63]Equals the Kuan-yin ling-yen pu (?).

[64]The patriarchs here are listed in the following order: Hui-yüan, Shan-tao, Ch'eng-yüan, Fa-chao, Shao-k'ang, Yen-shou, Sheng-ch'ang, and Tsung-tse.

[65]See HTC 111, pp. 77-84.

Chapter II Appendices - Footnotes

[1]T. 47-1973; HTC. 148 (Yen-shou biography on p. 71).

[2]T. 50-2064.

[3]T. 47, p. 325a-b.

[4]According to this story, when Yen-shou failed to obtain permission to become a monk from his parents, he refrained from eating meat and copied sūtras using hs own blood as ink.

[5]T. 50, p. 1011a-b.

[6]T. 49-2036, pp. 658a-b.

[7]T. 49-2037, p. 857a-b.

[8]HTC. 146, pp. 488-94.

[9]In addition, note should be made of the relatively late biography of Yen-shou contained in the Ching-t'u sheng-hsien chuan (c. 1790), HTC. 135, pp. 421-22. This bigoraphy contains standard information from earlier sources, and is distinguished by its extensive use of quotes from the Wan-shan t'ung-kuei chi. This attests to the high regard with which this text came to be held in the Pure Land school.

[10]This becomes evident in various sources pertaining to the monarchs and monks of that kingdom. See, for example, WYPS and the SKCC (chapters 77-89).

[11]The influence of Yen-shou on Korean Buddhism is considerable. This is evident, for example, in extensive quotes from Yen-shou in the writings of the Korean Son

(Ch'an) master Chinul.

[12]Szu-ming shan-chih, ch. 2, pp. 12-14. The point of this biography is to emphasize Yen-shou's role as ch'an master on Mt. Szu-ming. The only variation from the corresponding CTCTL portion is in the recording of his gāthā, which is different from the one recorded in the CTCTL.

[13]Ling-yin ssu chih, ch. 3A, pp. 6-7.

[14]This is roughly the same period that Ta-huo wrote the Yung-ming tao-chi, and compiled the Nan-p'ing ching-tz'u chih.

[15]Ching-tz'u ssu chih, ch. 7, pp. 2-5.

[16]The biographies are recorded in ibid., ch. 7-9. They end with the 139th generation.

[17]But see very useful comments on this system in Holmes Welch, "Dharma Scrolls and the Succession of Abbots in Chinese Monasteries", in T'oung Pao (50), 1963, pp. 93-149.

[18]This is a point raised by Ishii, op. cit., p. 81.

[19]The biography is recorded in SKCC, ch. 89, pp. 1286-87. There is also a biography of Yen-shou recorded in the Che-chiang t'ung-chih, ch. 198, but it is complied from other sources directly referred to in the text.

[20]Hsien-ch'un Lin-an chih, ch. 82, pp. 10-12. In addition, there ar mentions, notices, etc., of Yen-shou elsewhere. The Hang-chou fu-chih (ch. 171) has a brief notice of the life of Yen-shou, and also relates a story involving him in the notice of the monk Hsing-hsiu. (The story is also related in SKCC, ch. 89, p. 6.) The episode of constructing the pagoda to quell the tide also appears in some accounts of Tsan-ning (see the Te-ch'ing hsien-chih, ch. 8).

[21]See above under "Temple Records Images of Yen Shou."

Chapter III - Footnotes

[1]The best example of this is the summary of the WSTKC contents provided by Morimoto Shinjun in Ono's Bussho kaisetsu daijiten, vol. 10, p. 301c ff. The same summary is contained in Jōdoshū zensho, indicating that this is the orthodox position toward the WSTKC in the Japanese Pure Land school.

[2]The University of Wisconsin-Madison, PhD, 1984.

[3]Ibid., pp. 5-6.

[4]"Manzen-doki shu kaidai", Kokuyaku issaikyō, Shoshubu 9, p. 2.

[5]Ono Gemmyo, Bussho kaisetsu daijiten, vol. 10, pp. 300d-301a; Taishō daizōkyō mokuroku, p. 518a; Zenseki mokuroku, p. 778.

[6]For the location of other copies, consult Ono, ibid., p. 302a.

[7]This collection also circulates under the name of its Taiwan reprint edition, the Hsü-tsang ching (HTC).

[8]HTC 111, p. 83b-d.

[9]Takase Jogen, Kokuyaku issaikyō, Shoshubu 9, p. 2.

[10]TCL; T. 48, p. 417a.

[11]There are many ambiguous references to sutras in the WSTKC as well; these have not been included in my enumeratioin unless they could be connected with a specific sutra or reference work. My figures vary slightly with those given by Hioki (?) Kogen, "Manzen dōki shū ni arawasareta jōdo kyōsetsu", Sōtōshu kenkyū kenkyūsei kenkyū kiyō, p. 59.

[12]T. 9-273.

[13]T. 47-1960.

[14]As in the case of works cited, WSTKC references to masters is frequently ambiguous. The same principle that was used in the case of sutra references was also used here.

[15]Again, my figures are slightly at variance with those of Hioki, op. cit. While Hioki's figures are basically the same as mine, Hioki has missed their significance by reading them from only the viewpoint of Pure Land doctrine.

[16]See for example, Ono Gemmyo's series of articles in Gendai bukkyō, nos. 17-23, "Jimin sanzō no jōdokyō", especially no. 22, pp. 18-51.

[17]T. 47-1961.

[18]A chart consisting of the following Small Vehicle categories (based on T. divisions) can be made as follows:

J Jātakas or stories of the lives of the Buddhas; classified as pen-yuan (本縁) ching in Chinese (T. vol. 3-4).

Sn Works taken from the Suttanipāta, the collection of admonitions of the small vehicle; ching-chi (經集) in Chinese (T. vol. 14-17).

RK References from the Ratnakūta sūtras, either the Pao-chi ching (宝積經) or the Ta-chi ching (大集經) (T. vol. 12-13).

CHŪAN

Classification	I	II	III	Total
J	4	15	6	25
Sn	12	21	7	40
RK	6	5	3	14

[19]In total, the WSTKC contains 16 references to the Nirvāṇa Sūtra, 3 in chūan one, 9 in chūan two, and 4 in chūan three.

[20]Nakamura, Bukkyōgo daijiten, p. 1286b.

[21]See T. 33-1716, p. 805c.

[22]T. 48, p. 958c.

[23]T. 48, p. 989c.

[24]An accessible source from which to understand the meaning of these terms in the Hua-yen school is

Fa-tsang's *Chin-shih-tzu chang* ("Treatise on the Golden Lion"), T. 45-1880, of which an English translation is available in Wing-tsit Chan, *A Source Book in Chinese Philosophy*, pp. 409-414, and a discussion in Fung Yu-lan, *A History of Chinese Philosophy*, vol. II, pp. 339-359.

[25]The four kinds of *samādhi* in the T'ien-t'ai school are: (1) to sit in meditation for a period of ninety days without engaging in any other religious exercises; (2) to invoke the name of Amitabha for ninety days; (3) to practice seated and ambulatory meditation for a specified period to remove bad *karman*; (4) to practice meditation based on the three contemplations of one-mind, in which one views phenomena from three standpoints: as empty and ultimately having no reality, as existing temporarily and provisionally, and as the mean--the true state of thusness. See the *Mo-ho chih-kuan*, T. 46-1911, ch. 2A.

[26]See Kamata Shigeo, *Chugoku bukkyōshi jiten*, p. 344a.

[27]*Ibid.*

[28]T. 48, p. 958a.

[29]*Ibid.*, p. 958a.

[30]*Ibid.*, p. 958a.

[31]*Ibid.*, p. 958b.

[32]*Ibid.*, p. 958b.

[33]*Ibid.*, p. 992a-c.

[34]*Ibid.*, p. 958c.

[35]*Ibid.*, p. 958c.

[36]*Ibid.*, p. 973b. This analogy is common to the Hua-yen tradition.

[37]See for example, Ishii Shudo, "Eimei enju den--hogenshū sansō to rensha shitsuden", *Komazawa daigaku daigakuin--Bukkyōgaku kenkyūgo nenpo*, no. 3, March 15, 1969, p. 76.

[38]T. 48, p. 959a.

[39]*Ibid.*, p. 959a.

40 *Ibid.*, p. 958c.

41 *Ibid.*, p. 958b.

42 *Ibid.*, p. 959b.

43 *Ibid.*, p. 959b.

44 *Ibid.*, p. 960a.

45 *Ibid.*, p. 960a.

46 Hung-jen's style of incorporating *nien-fo* in the Ch'an school ~~was~~ carried on in three branches: (1) in the Nan-shan branch by Hsuan-shih; (2) in the Ching-chung branch by Chih-hsien; (3) in the Niu-t'ou or Oxhead branch by Fa-ch'ih (Tanaka Ryosho, "Nembutsu zen to goki hokushū zen," *Tonko butten to zen*, pp. 221-24).

47 Yampolsky (trans.), *The Platform Sutra*, pp. 156-57.

48 Iriya Yoshitaka (trans.), *Denshin hōyō Wanryo roku*, "Zen no goroku, v. 8", p. 135.

49 Yampolsky, *op. cit.*, p. 156.

50 Tz'u-min's criticism is most apparent in his *Wang-sheng ching-t'u chi* (T. 85-2828, pp. 1236-1242); this criticism is reviewed by Michibata Ryoshu, "Shinshū yori mitaru jimin sanzō (1)", *Otani daigaku shūgaku kenkyū*, no. 9, Dec. 1934, pp. 55-70.

51 WSTKC; T. 48, p. 963c (from section no. 16); this is from missing portions of Tz'u-min's *Wang-shang ching-t'u chi*. For more information, see translation note 16-8.

52 T. 48, p. 961c.

53 See note 21 above. Reference to this in the WSTKC is in section no. 16, T. 48, pp. 963b-964a.

54 T. 48, p. 964a.

55 *Ibid.*, p. 967a-b.

56 *Ibid.*, p. 966b-c.

57 *Ibid.*, p. 968b.

[58]*Ibid.*, p. 966c.

[59]*Ibid.*, p. 962a.

[60]*Ibid.*, p. 962a.

[61]*Ibid.*, p. 962a.

[62]*Ibid.*, p. 962a.

[63]The *Yüeh-wang pen-shih p'in* ("The Former Affair of the Bodhisattva Medicine King"), chapter of the *Lotus Sūtra* provided the model and inspiration for many Buddhist self-immolators.

[64]The regard self-immolation in China presented through the records and views of Hui-chiao, Tao-hsüan, and Tsan-ning, is reviewed by Jan Yun-hua, "Buddhist Self-immolation in Medieval China", *History of Religions* 4 (1965), pp. 243-65.

[65]See Chapter I.A. The Changing Nature of Buddhism. 1. Shifting Patterns in the Categories of Emminent Monks, especially Appendix Table IV.

[66]Jan, *op. cit.*, pp. 247-51.

[67]T. 50-2061, p. 860c; Jan, *op. cit.*, pp. 264-65.

[68]T. 48, p. 969b.

[69]*Ibid.*, p. 970c.

[70]*Ibid.*, p. 970c.

[71]*Ibid.*, p. 970c.

[72]*Ibid.*, p. 971a,

[73]*Ibid.*, p. 972c.

[74]*Ibid.*, p. 972a.

[75]Ruth F. Sasaki (tr.), *The Record of Lin-chi*, p. 25.

[76]*Ibid.*, pp. 11-12.

[77]This is particularly evident in the teachings of masters from the Southern School of ch'an, which reached its most radical formulation in such figures as Ma-tsu Tao-i,

Huang-po Hsi-yun, and Lin-chi I-hsuan.

[78]Iriya Yoshitaka (trans.), Denshin hōyō-Wanryo roku, "Zen no goroku 8", p. 135.

[79]Ibid., p. 19.

[80]T. 48, p. 974b-c.

[81]Ibid., p. 978a.

[82]Ibid., p. 974c.

[83]Ibid., p. 978c.

[84]Ibid., pp. 979c-980b.

[85]Ibid., p. 980b.

[86]Yampolsky, The Platform Sutra of the Sixth Patriarch, pp. 55-56.

[87]Yampolsky, ibid., p. 114, for example, says of the contents of the sermon in the Platform Sutra, "one is struck by the fact that almost all of the basic ideas presented are drawn from canonical sources; they are by no means concepts original to the Platform Sutra. For the most part they are phrases, terms, and ideas taken from the context of various sutras, and discussed, to a certain extent, in terms of Ch'an...."

[88]T. 45-1886, pp. 707-710.

[89]See the chapter devoted to Han Yü and Li Ao in Wing-tsit Chan's, A Sourcebook in Chinese Philosophy, pp. 450-459.

[90]Quotes in paranthesis are from Han Yü's "Memorial on the Bone of Buddha", from de Bary, ed., Sources of Chinese Tradition, vol. I, pp. 372-74.

[91]Though not a direct quote, reference here is to Bk. XI-12 of the Lun-yü, where Confucius responds: "You are not able to serve man. How can you serve spirits?" "You do not understand even life. How can you understand death?" (D. C. Lau, The Analects, p. 107).

[92]Ibid., pp. 987c-988a.

[93]Ibid., p. 988a.

[94]Ibid., p. 988b.

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